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COMMEMORATOR

Published by the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party

Volume 4, Number 2 **September/October 1994**

Managed Health Care Slammed As Genocide

People from a variety of low-income communities will suffer under the managed-care health plan.

NASHVILLE — African American doctors in Tennessee have criticized the state's federally authorized managed care "experiment," TennCare, as genocidal toward the state's predominantly low-income minority people. The plan inspired a nationwide storm of protest when the Clinton administration granted the state government waivers from federal Medicaid requirements last year.

Dr. Winston Griner, a black family practitioner in Nashville, accused the state of "practicing a new form of genocide, treating dollars instead of people." He and Valentine J. Burroughs, M.D., an endocrinologist who is secretary of the New York County Medical Society, fear that a two-tier health care system is emerging where cost is a primary consideration and patient care is secondary, except for those with the means to purchase private coverage.

The doctors explained "minority physicians will be shut out, because if the health insurers are allowed to pick and choose based on their criteria, our patients will be shut out too." Minorities, they add, "live in areas with shortages of health personnel, with the worst of medical conditions, and we don't present very attractive patients, because our patients require the most care, and we have the least dollars to pay for the care."

Abolish this program

At the same time Native Americans in the Pacific northwest have condemned the Oregon Health Plan, an experiment in rationing medical services for the poor which was also authorized by federal waivers, as genocidal to ethnic minorities.

"Two thousand American Indians in the Rogue Valley fall below the poverty line and this legislation is affecting us drastically. We stand with Northwest Seasonal Workers Association and Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals in the call to abolish this program of genocide," said George Fence, tribal leader and director of the American Indian Cultural Center in Talent, Oregon.

"Health care reform is big business and faces barriers that we struggled against twenty-five years ago. Many people have multiple needs; a doctor may give a patient a prescription and then say, 'go home and take the medicine and rest.' Well, when you don't have a home that you can go to,

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Rwanda: Another Perspective

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The American media has been reporting the news of the civil war in the central African nation of Rwanda as an ethnic conflict between two tribes, the Hutu and Tutsi.

According to Rwandan exiles and members of the newly-victorious Rwandan Patriotic Front, ethnic divisions in the country were created by Belgian colonialists to divide and rule in what had been a peacefully governed, independent kingdom since the 14th century.

The Commemorator *is proud to present the following first-hand account of the causes of the war between the recently deposed Rwandan government and the RPF, which is now establishing a national unity government, in accordance with peace parleys interrupted when the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed April 6 of this year.)*

Rwandan refugees face mass death, disease and horror in refugee camps, while U.S. Red Cross and U.N. officials raise money and make geopolitical gains by encouraging Rwandans to remain in these death camps.

by Chris Stone

[A Rwandan living in the United States, and the editor of the *South African Beacon*.]

When the Belgians came to Rwanda it was an established Central African kingdom with a good administration, so they plotted to destroy it. They established an I.D. card that

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Anatomy of a Government Raid on a Harlem Mosque

Economics: The Motor of History; Money: The Mother's Milk of Politics

This whole scenario, especially given the anti-Nation Of Islam, anti-semitic media attacks from everywhere, including the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), begs the question, "Why is the NOI coming under such intense attack at this time?" It has been correctly stated that economics is the motor of history and that money is the mother's milk of politics. The key to what economics, money and politics have to do with the raid on the NOI's Harlem Mosque, and the media propaganda before and after the raid, is the current ruling class's plans for Harlem and other urban ghettos and the NOI's strategic position in relation to these plans.

Harlem is currently targeted as a so-called "Empowerment Zone" (EZ) site. Installation of EZ machinery in Harlem will provide profit and so-called nonprofit special business, real estate, development, and religious interests with $5.1 billion in NYC Department of Housing Development and Preservation (DHDP) and $100 million in EZ funds, grants, reimbursements, tax credits and deferments, tax exempt bond financing, low-no interest loans, below fair market value purchasing and leasing options and other giveaways. By stark contrast, EZ workers receive poverty-level wages under the pretense of training for higher paying jobs that never materialize.

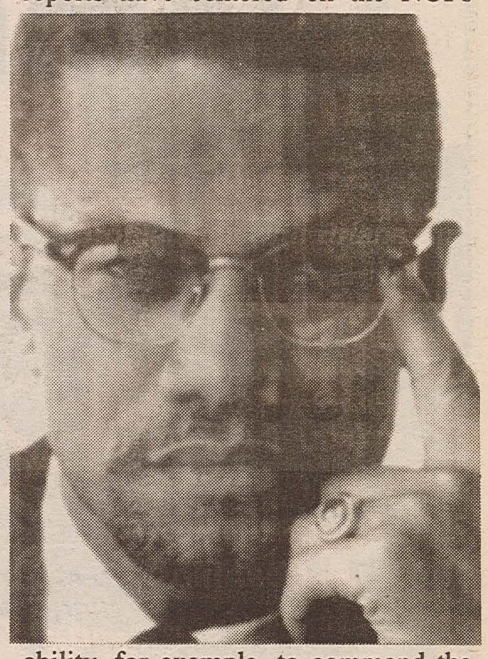
The same exploitative relationship exists between EZ's such as the one planned for Harlem and the U.S. working class as exists between NAFTA and the Mexican working class whose average wage is somewhere around 58 cents an hour. The raided Mosque is in Harlem, which is one of several urban ghettos targeted for location of EZ's. The zones are being expanded to see if they can be sold as mirages of economic progress for the predominantly minority urban inner city ghettos, when, in actuality, they merely camouflage the next layer of more intensive exploitation of the working class of all races.

Zones, the Nation of Islam, and Congressional Black Caucus

Abdul Halim Farrakhan and the NOI are among the most outspoken critics of the Clinton administration's failure to provide any urban inner city economic initiative program for minorities and have eloquently set forth this analysis in local and national radio broadcasts, the *Final Call* newspaper, and during speaking engagements. The so-called EZ is the government's only urban inner-city (ghetto) economic initiative program according to Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's Urban Research Center.

This underscores the political importance of selling the EZ false image of minority economic progress in the inner city, based on low-wage job training for higher-wage jobs that don't exist. In order for the democratic wing of the ruling class's bought-and-paid-for government to retain shaky political power bases and their ability to continue to mislead the population with false hope after one of the narrowest presidential victory margins in history, the Congressional Black Caucus, every house nigger and false leader who sold out or bought into the enemy's program, will be pressured to support EZ's.

Recent government media source reports have centered on the NOI's



ability, for example, to command the presence of audiences of twelve thousand on word of an appearance from Abdul Halim Farrakhan alone. Hence the NOI's position toward EZ development rises to strategic proportions as their opposition or support could substantially determine how the EZ program is received at the grassroots level. The NOI's position toward zones would also affect the relation-

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From the Editor:

A Message To All Prisoners

Can you remember the truth about the prison environment, and the images you had the very first time you were brought to prison in chains? That experience seemed to begin with a deafening crash behind you, of thick doors, and steel slamming against steel. The horror actually began while living in perpetual poverty and genocidal conditions that form the day to day reality in low-income communities most prisoners come from and return to.You walk through what seems to be an endless series of cold steel doors until you lose count. The sound of them banging shut behind you completes your sense of isolation, never leaving your mind until you are released, if you are lucky. It represents the cold-blooded ruthlessness under which you will be working for slave or no wages while your relatives and friends, who are mostly low-income, will be charged criminally high prices to provide you with the basic necessities that the state refuses to provide. For example, those who accept inmate collect phone calls will be billed at double the rate everyone on the outside pays.

This is similar to conditions the modern steel and concrete wage slave plantations constitutionalized in the Thirteenth Amendment which didn't abolish slavery but instead constitutionalized slavery as punishment for a crime. The Thirteenth Amendment reads:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, EXCEPT AS A PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED, shall exist within the United States , or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The Thirteenth Amendment's language makes it unmistakably clear that its force and effect is not to abolish all forms of slavery but to guarantee that the form of slavery and involuntary servitude known as "Prison Slavery," continues to exist only now, under the protection of the constitution. America's approach to crime is to make slaves of those convicted and to use prisoners as slave labor to alleviate unemployment. It is this economic incentive and not rehabilitation or public safety programs that form the essence of prisons's historic practices and policies.

Basic Civil and Human Rights

The handcuffs and leg irons that snap around wrists and ankles, are only the first step in an endless chain of a series of lost freedoms and rights such as the right to own and sell your own labor, the right to support your family with a living wage, the right to hold certain jobs, offices or titles and in most jurisdictions the right to vote.

As Soledad Brother George Jackson (who was murdered by California prison authorities in 1971) observed, "Anybody who can pass a civil service exam today can brutalize, kill or deny a prisoner basic civil and human rights with almost complete impunity." In prison there are

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NEW WAR AGAINST POVERTY

The New War against Poverty is a new section (photo collage and captions) to be carried by the *Commemorator* each issue. The goal of this section is to bring the oppressed communities and concerned people visual news of their struggles for liberation nationally and internationally—to highlight the class war and to tie together the many fronts of struggle, and to build intercommunal solidarity for real progressive change.

This photo collage and captions, like the regular articles we run, will highlight struggles from many fronts: The fight for comprehensive health care for all; the fight for jobs with decent wages; the fight for housing and education for all citizens; where we are winning and where we are losing the New War Against Poverty—against oppression.

Photo by Sekou Le Beaud

From left to right: Melvin Dickson, CCBPP Chair and Commemorator Editor; Gary Johnson, Managing Editor; Evan Daniel, Production Manager, open a meeting of minority small business owners on the New War Against Poverty. Unlike the 1960s war against poverty, led by the Johnson administration championing such programs as Model Cities, which relied on the federal government, a top-to-bottom approach to eliminating poverty, the New War Against Poverty must be grassroots based, led by local communities—a bottom up approach without government control.

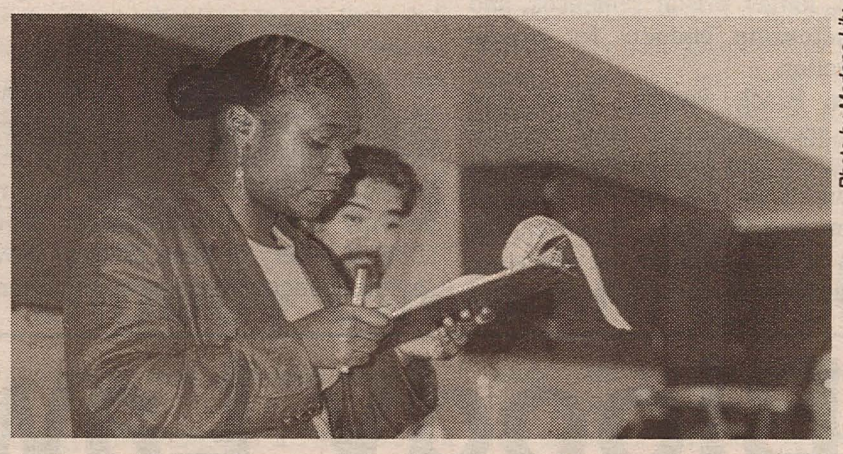

Photo by Marlene Lily

Tiffany Hall, Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party spokesperson, carried the New War Against Poverty to an Oakland City Council meeting, where she spoke out against the city's application for federal empowerment zones (a new euphemism—double speak—for the institutionalization of poverty in low-income communities). She also recently spoke out against the California State legislature's enactment of AB 1438 and SB 1770, expanding the notorious Enterprise Zones, imposed on the state's poor and oppressed communities as "jobs creation." Both empowerment zones and enterprise zones favor large profit-oriented corporations, such as PacBell, over workers, small local businesses, in government tax abatement policies at the expense of taxpayers and low-income and working communities.

The *Commemorator* would like to thank the following local businesses that are participating in the New War Against Poverty through a 10% discount to low-income customers who have signed-up with Western Service Workers Association.

Another casualty in the War Against Poverty. At left: The little boy, David, the child of Shelia Holladay, was murdered by the state of Oregon. His crime? No more than that he was poor. The mother was unable to afford the cost of his operation (a bone marrow transplant). Through managed-health-care omission, the state allowed David to die.

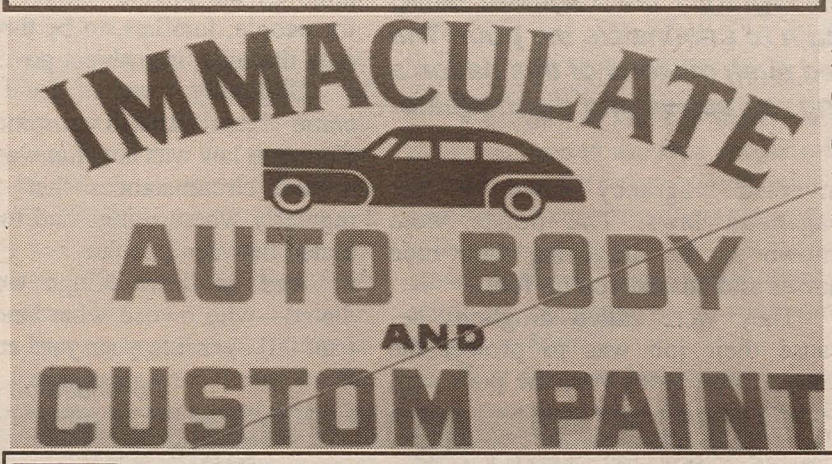

Photo by Evan Daniel

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1430 14th, Oakland CA., (510) 533-5742

Los Tres Amigos,
2001 E. 14th Oakland CA., (510) 533-4175

Romer Glass,
1825 E. 14th, Oakland CA., (510) 533-1109

Soledade Beauty Salon,
2812 E. 14th St., Oakland, CA

The Crime of Poverty

by Evan Daniel

In this upcoming series of articles I will be addressing the issue of crime in our communities. As a resident of North Oakland, a majority black, working class community, I aim to expose the links between poverty and crime, and conduct a critical dialogue with you, our readership.

For far too long those outside our communities, whether "experts," the media or "concerned" citizens have been inclined to scapegoat poor people (especially those of color), with society's problems, including crime.

Now with the media hype of the "Three Strikes" law, these "experts" and legislators are calling for more prisons, longer prison sentences, and ever-increasing budgets for prison construction.

The Black Panther Party had always recognized the need for full employment and self-determination as exemplified by the Party's 10-Point Platform and Program. However, the owners of the media are not educating us about the links between poverty and crime, nor is the legislature enacting any realistic solutions to our communities' true problems, our lack of economic opportunity or political clout.

Don't get me wrong, the popular media does attempt to tell the story of our staggering economy, but only in the context of markets and investments, rarely with the perspective of working families, beyond the cursory and inaccurate unemployment statistics, or how many people GM (or GE, AT&T, IBM, etc.) have laid off this week. We are told by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that black teen unemployment is 25% higher than that for whites (39% vs. 14%), but no context or reason is given.

Photo by Jennifer Cheek

While politicians continually call for more police, our communities continue to be ravaged by poverty.

Poverty Equals Crime

The question is why do African Americans face this dilemma? Do they lack the skills due to lack of access and training, or is it institutional racism, perhaps urban abandonment? How about a variety of these factors? How can the economy or crime be important issues while the relationship between crime and poverty is ignored?

The recent passage of the "Three Strikes" law clearly illustrates our lawmakers' inability or unwillingness to recognize the root cause of crime, or to enact a suitable solution.

In the minds of most legislators the "problem" is crime, the "solution" is to make individuals accountable for their actions by incarceration. A more realistic approach would acknowledge the economic conditions that exist in high crime areas and attempt to alleviate them.

This would involve encouragement of local businesses through low-

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Bloody Laws are Back!

by *Commemorator* Staff

We talk about the "Bloody" laws because we have things going down now like the anti-loitering and anti-panhandling laws, and the reason we call them the bloody laws is that along with the anti-loitering and anti-panhandling, et cetera, laws, they come right out of the vagrancy laws.

That reverberates all the way back to the 16th century, when feudal lords were selling their lands and throwing the serfs, who had slaved for them and made them wealthy, *off the land!*

They called it the "freeing of the serfs." The serfs were free all right, but they had nowhere to go, they were kicked off the land, kicked into abject poverty.

Being in abject poverty, they did what they could to survive, travel wherever they could to find a means of survival.

That's where you got the "vagabond" and the "vagabond laws," which later became known as the "vagrancy laws."

A vagabond was somebody who had no means of subsistence and therefore was to be feared, hated, hunted and jailed.

If you have ever seen the movies of Robin Hood whose "merry men" lived in the forest, well, they were freed serfs, they had no land, and they lived in the king's forest, but they could be arrested for eating the king's deer, "poaching" in the king's forest, so "poaching laws" became widespread.

Photo by Ray Mann

Anti-loitering, anti-panhandling, anti-vagrancy laws against being penniless, hungry and homeless begin to criminalize the poor. The same policy makers who have helped push millions of this nation's citizens into poverty are now passing repressive and discriminatory laws against those same citizens.

You saw a deer. If you killed it, you could be arrested. In fact, they invented vagrancy laws or the vagabond laws. The police were known as the dragoons, who rode horses and chased you on foot.

They were called dragoons because their job was to protect the king's forest from you, the poor serf, who had been turned out by the king and had nothing, and nowhere to go.

The kings created a whole new level of law enforcement and they hired sheriffs of the king's forest, whose job was to catch anyone who was poaching. The poor, who hid in the forest now that they were "free," free to starve.

A vagabond is someone who has no visible means of support, no money, no place to go. If asked, "Who are you? Where are you from?" "Well, I'm John. I'm from nowhere, I'm going nowhere."

It is against the law, you could be arrested!

It's just like the homeless today, and in fact that's one of the reasons we go back and look at such laws.

They're very similar; they are laws against a *condition*.

In fact the real law-breaking was done by the system—when it allows for people, families, to be thrown out onto the road, into abject poverty.

Originally, most of the U.S. law came from British common law. Common law was law that was created around circumstances that occurred regularly where things had to be mediated between people.

And as these things were mediated—who owned what land. If my fruit fell over into your yard and I did-

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Haiti: Story Behind the Story

Interview with Pierre LaBossier

As U.S. military forces continue to gather in preparation for possible military intrusion into Haiti, with their Naval Blockade already fully meeting Act-of-War condition, and the mainstream U.S. media following in tow, Commemorator contributor Pierre LaBossier, Haitian born activist, poet and member of the Haitian American Council and Haiti Action Coalition, brings us the story behind the story in Haiti.

Photo by Scott Braley

Protestors in downtown Oakland speak out and demonstrate against U.S. military intervention in Haiti and the U.S. government's double-standards policy toward the Haitian immigrants; while, exploited Haitian textile workers for U.S. textile companies in Haiti that contract primarily to American corporations, such as Walmart, J.C. Penney and Sears, make as little as 13 cents per hour.

Commemorator: ***I thought maybe we'd start with who you are and what you do.***

Pierre LaBossier: My name is Pierre LaBossier, and I am a poet originally from Haiti and have lived since I was 14 years old on the west coast of the United States and in New York. I have been very involved in local community issues, not just concerning Haiti but also issues addressing myself and also issues of the world. But I happen to live in Haiti.

But you're living in Oakland now?

Yes. I live in Oakland now and have been living in Oakland since 1981.

And you are also involved with affairs in Haiti?

Yes, definitely, because we are connected. It is all connected. For example, when you look at the whole question of the one awakening movement, leaving the west to go overseas. They don't go to Haiti for the mango trees, or the sunshine. They go to Haiti because they are able to take advantage of the oppression that goes on there, where the workers, men and women cannot organize themselves into unions. Where they get only 14 cents an hour to make clothing, toys, fishing lures, baseballs, and a lot of sporting goods, where people get only two cents for making a baseball. The baseball that is sold in the U.S. for $7.30 and up. Those are the reasons why you see many companies leaving the U.S. to go to Haiti.

So when a worker gets two cents who gets the rest, where does it go?

Well for example when a plant closes its doors down here, it puts a lot of people out of work, supposedly the profit margin is greater somewhere else, and this is the key word—profit margins.

It is not that they are not making profits here, but they have had to pay decent wages here, they would rather pay slave wages by going to Haiti, and they have the military that they [U.S. corporations] give kickbacks to, and they pay lobbyists for giving military aid and funding, and the military is acting in a sense like the KKK, to keep people on the plantation....

So the military acts like an enforcer?

Yes, and all those companies, all those runaway plants, benefit from those conditions that exist in Haiti. The more of those companies started coming to Haiti, the more of the low wages, the more the military became repressive, to repress the popular movement by killing people, the more people were forced to leave. Now calling them economic refugees is actually making a mockery out of the whole thing. These are political refugees, our people are.

Now if you can combine the politics you can't separate it from economics and then so they are political refugees. But the press never presented that even after the coup against President Aristide, when thousands, tens of thousands of our people are being massacred by the military, what do you bet that the same press now are reporting that Haitians are economic refugees, despite all of those deaths that are taking place.

Here comes Father Aristide as president of Haiti that the people elected overwhelmingly. With 67% of the vote, the highest mandate of any elected leader, recently. We had democracy in Haiti. There were no human rights violations. None of those killings were taking place, because they brought that under control. And, boom, the coup took place and immediately the press started talking about how many people Aristide had killed and how many people suffered so-called human rights abuses under his government and all this time, even to this day, some of them keep coming back to this madness. And even though the Haitian military is on the record of having killed.

Some people in Boston have done a study of how many they are reporting, and it found that it is carefully slanted to report the human rights abuses of Aristide—whereas the military only 35 to 40 percent of blame, any kind of blame for human rights violations.

Well, who's orchestrating, I mean, why is the press doing this, do you have any idea?

Well, I can say this from my own understanding. You clearly have a heavy lobby, by the ruling elite in Haiti. After all, many of those people speak French, they have traveled abroad, they speak English. They are the quote unquote, "educated class." They are the "wine and dine" people. They are the ones with the means of communication. They are the ones people seek out to speak with. With the majority of our people who are peasants, who are workers toiling in the factories, they are the ones who are voiceless, so-called. Nobody goes to seek out their viewpoint.

So people listen to the articulate people?

Well, I don't want to say that because our people are *very* articulate, and they articulate their position very well.

They, the elite, are the ones that have economic benefits from having the cheap labor, they benefit from

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Book Review: James Forman's,

High Tide of Black Resistance

by Melvin Dickson

James Forman was a leader of the 1960s civil rights movement, serving as Executive Secretary and Director of International Affairs of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC). In his recent book, *High Tide of Black Resistance,* Forman has assembled a collection of essays, journals and short stories providing a unique insight on the movement he helped shape.

Forman goes back to the roots of his civil rights battle in a personal account of his encounter with the Los Angeles police in 1953: "Trouble in Los Angeles" describes my false arrest and torture by various members of the Los Angeles Police Department. The brutal beating of Rodney King in March of 1991 by members of the LAPD, videotaped and subsequently played on national TV networks, was reminiscent of the treatment I had received at the hands of some members of the LAPD thirty-eight years earlier" (1).

Having served in the U.S. Air Force for a few years during the Korean War in the early 1950s, Forman attended University of Southern California as an undergraduate. "I left Doheny library...I had been studying for five hours....Standing in front of the library...I just stood there thinking how good it felt to be out of the Air Force and back in school.

"'Hey boy! You there!' A police car pulled to the curb. Two white cops wearing blue caps and blue uniforms sat in the front seat. I heard them insulting me but I went on looking at the stars" (2).

The Los Angeles Police Department's incident with Forman in which he was literally tortured and beaten, paralleled the red scare led by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, which ruined many lives: "In the early fifties, when I was an undergraduate student at the University of Southern California (USC), I learned from various sources that the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) actually had placed spies in various classrooms on campus in order to monitor the views of the students" (1).

Southern police often used dogs on peaceful civil rights marchers.

The author's Chapter 3, "Song Festival," is one of the highlights of the book, taken from an unpublished novel, *The Thin White Line* which Forman wrote some years ago.

Jim Crow

The story, based on the author's friendship with a young southern white minister while attending Roosevelt University as an undergraduate in 1957, raises questions about some of the social conditions of a typical small southern town in Tennessee, and the psychological makeup of Tom Blake, the protagonist, a young, bleeding-heart, white Baptist, Christian minister.

Tom proposed to his all white congregation to host a Song Festival at the church. Although the idea was not rejected by the majority of his congregation, it did not sit well with Deacon White, who also served as the local sheriff. Tom's Christian effort to integrate his church, inadvertently brought on violence against the local black townspeople that culminated in the murder of the local black minister.

The story not only depicts the violence against Black and the Jim-Crow lifestyle of a typical southern town in Tennessee, but it also shows some of the religious prejudice southern white society held against Jews and Catholics:

"One day a Jewish merchant from a neighboring town told him [Tom] it was too bad the Christians adhere to the Old Testament.

"'What do you mean?' Tom said. 'Jesus was a Jew and the Christians adhere to the Old Testament.'

"'Yes, but Christians say the Jews killed Christ...'"

Also, prejudice against Catholicism from the congregation is shown, "Tom had encouraged a Catholic youth to attend his church. He did. But whenever he prayed, the young man did not kneel down or bow his head like the other people in the congregation. He stood up and made the sign of the cross. This infuriated the church. They began to gossip and the young man stopped coming."

Forman's Chapter 9, "Notes from Leflore County Jail," made up of journal entries, addresses the voting right challenge for the movement and southern blacks. He talks about his arrest, along with seven other SNCC members, for escorting local black citizens to the courthouse to register to vote in Greenwood, Mississippi (96).

While organizing this great voting rights movement in Mississippi and other parts of the South, some SNCC members began to realize the commitment it would take to win, "We decided we would not work for profit. We were convinced that making money was antithetical to working for the liberation of our people. If we started making a lot of money or receiving high salaries off of Civil Rights, we would lose our revolutionary consciousness because we might develop a vested interest in those salaries" (128).

This is especially significant today as we look back on 30 years during which the energy and determination of the Civil Rights movement was channeled into government-funded poverty programs. High salaries and glamorous careers drove a wedge between organizers and the communities they came from. Neither has recovered to this day.

In 1967 Forman presented a document titled *The Indivisible Struggle Against Racism, Colonialism, and Apartheid*, excerpts from Chapter 10 in the book, to the United Nations, for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Apartheid Seminar

The occasion, according the Forman, was an *International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination, and Colonialism in Southern Africa,* which was held in Kitwe, Zambia between July and August of 1967. "The seminar," says the author, "was attended by representatives from 24 member nations of the United Nations." (101).

This time frame was very critical for the civil rights movement as it was known; because new young black revolutionary militants, such as the **Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**, led by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale were on the horizon. The recent murder of El Haas Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) and the concept of "Black Power" was superseding as a slogan for action the nonviolence-turn-the-other-cheek philosophy, symbolized best by Dr. Martin Luther King. Both Dr. King and Malcolm X contributed to making the plight of the black Americans' struggle against

Continued on page 19

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Huey's Corner

Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed

Conclusion

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national (native) bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggle of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group, even though they are exploiters.

(NOTE: Our analysis of the new conditions in the world, which are revealed in our development of the concept of Reactionary Intercommunalism, indicates that under the present circumstances the national bourgeoisie and their domestic equivalents are in a weaker position now than they were when they were in a state of colonialism or just freed from colonialism. This is because under Reactionary Intercommunalism the national bourgeoisie is in control of a smaller unit (a community) than before. Not only does this make them weaker, it also makes it more likely that a non-antagonistic transformation of their contradiction can take place because the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie are in many ways similar to those of the people who are victimized.)

Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist. At the same time the Black capitalist who has the interest of the community at heart will respond to the needs of the people, because this is where his true strength lies.

So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist merely has the status of a victim, because the big white capitalists have the skills, make the loans, and they in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise, the Black capitalist must turn to the community, because he depends on them to make his profit. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies.

The Black capitalist will be able to support the people by contributing to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party. In contributing to such programs, he will be able to help build the vehicle which will eventually liberate the Black community. He will not be able to deliver the people from their problems, but he will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom.

Our re-analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the community from the perspective of dialectical materialism, and our practical understanding of the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people towards Black capitalism, leads us to a new position. Black businesses which have the interests of the community at heart will be able to contribute to the people through the community programs of the Black Panther Party. These free programs will help the community to survive and thus deter the genocide which is always a threat to our existence here.

In return for these contributions, the Black Panther Party will carry advertisements of these businesses in our paper and urge the community to support them. We will never sell advertising space in the paper, but we will give space in return for contributions to the survival programs which are given free to the community.

In this way we will achieve a greater unity of the community of victims — the people who are victimized by the society in general, and the Black capitalists who are victimized by the corporate capitalist monopolies. In this way we will increase the positive qualities of Black capitalism until they dominate the negative qualities, and exploitation will no longer be the reality which the community reluctantly accepts.

The community will see those who support their survival, and patronize their places of business. At the same time the community will also criticize those who refuse to participate in their survival programs, and turn their backs on them. If the establishment tries to come down hard on those businessmen who support the survival programs, then the community will recognize this as another form of oppression and will move to strongly defend their supporters. In that way the consciousness of the people and the level of the struggle will be advanced.

There is no salvation in capitalism, but through this new approach, the Black capitalist will contribute to his own negation by helping to build a strong political vehicle which is guided by revolutionary concepts and serves as a vanguard for the people. In this way, our new position has the simplicity and completeness of a mathematical formula. When the Black capitalist contributes to the survival programs and makes a contribution to the community, the community will give him the support and thus strengthen his business. If he does not make any contribution to the survival of the community the people will not support him and his enterprise will whither away because of his own negligence. By supporting the community, however, he will be helping to build the political machine which will eventually negate his exploitation of the community, but also negate his being exploited and victimized by corporate capitalism.

So we will heighten the contradiction between the Black community and corporate capitalism while at the same time reducing the contradiction between the Black capitalists and the Black community. In this way Black capitalism will be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community, which will contribute to the survival of everyone.

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An Expert from Hell

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

In 1987, a 28-year-old West Virginia cemetery worker was convicted of the vicious, brutal kidnapping and rape of 2 women. Glen Dale Woodall's life almost ended when a judge sentenced him to 2 life terms, with an additional 325 year sentence, for the crimes. The evidence was convincing. The state's medical examiner testified that Woodall's semen was found in both victims. A medical examiner, like all expert witnesses, is accorded high respect in American courts, for he is thought to be totally impartial, an ally only of Science.

In Woodall's case, the testimony of Med. Ex'r. Fred Zain was key, that locked him away in a dim prison cell for the rest of his natural life.

There was only one problem: Zain, forensic expert for the West Virginia State Police for over a decade, was wrong.

After almost 5 years in prison, Woodall's lawyer, Lonnie Simmons, took a long shot by having remnants of the semen found in the victims tested by the new DNA method. The tests conclusively proved Woodall's semen did not match the samples. Woodall, sentenced to two life terms, plus 325 years was innocent. West Virginia's supreme court ordered an examination of the forensic expert's testing in other cases and came to the starting conclusion that Zain's work was systematically deficient, entering the following ruling: "Any testimony or documentary evidence offered by Zain, at any time, in any criminal prosecution, should be deemed invalid, unreliable and inadmissible."

For 13 years, Zain testified in hundreds of rape and murder trials, in West Virginia, and later performed similarly in San Antonio, Texas, affecting, to one attorney's estimate, over 4,500 criminal cases in two states.

In 1990, a handyman, Jack Davis, was sentenced to life in prison for the 1989 murder and mutilation of a central Texas woman. Zain testified at Davis' trial that blood found under the victim's body placed him at the scene.

Davis' lawyer, Stanley Schneider, proved that, in fact, no test was done. Zain, according to forensic specialists in both states, wrote reports on tests that were never done, reported positive matches where negative would have cleared suspects, and listed as "conclusive" test results that were inconclusive.

His efforts to please cops and prosecutors sent possibly thousands of innocent men to serve centuries in prisons across two states, and some to Death Row.

As of this writing, the ex-medical examiner has not been charged with a single offense (in either state.)

His lawyer, Larry Souza, laments that Zain's life has been "ruined. He can't find a job in his profession. He's been reduced to working as a common laborer. He has nowhere to go."

I'm sure several thousand prisoners in West Virginia and Texas have some ideas where to send him.

Free Fred Hampton Jr.!

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

One cannot see a photo of the tall, strapping young man without being stunned.

Fred Hampton Jr. is truly the spitting image of his martyred, murdered father.

To see him is to see the form of Fred Hampton, the late State Chairman of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party, who was murdered in his Chicago bed, beside his 8-months pregnant wife, on December. 4th, 1969 at 4:00 a.m., by FBI and Chicago cops, who also murdered fellow Panther, Mark Clark.

Fred Jr., and his mother, Debra, barely survived the hail of deadly automatic weapons fire that early December morning.

Pocketed away in his mother's belly, Fred Jr. survived the murderous state onslaught of that deadly winter, but 24 years later, the same system that slew his father before he was even born has put this son of a Panther in a cage.

On May 19th, 1993, Fred Jr., convicted on dubious "aggravated arson" charges, was sentenced to 18 years in prison in a Chicago courthouse.

In the aftermath of the outrageous police acquittals in the Rodney King state prosecution of 1992, a number of cities reacted with rage, although none on the scale of Los Angeles' multicultural rebellion.

In Chicago, a Korean-owned store, Lee's Men's Fashions on South Halsted, burned to the ground.

In the absence of any physical evidence, and using FBI informants (the same tactics the government used to murder his father, Chairman Fred), the government alleged a "firebombing" and labeled Fred Jr. the culprit.

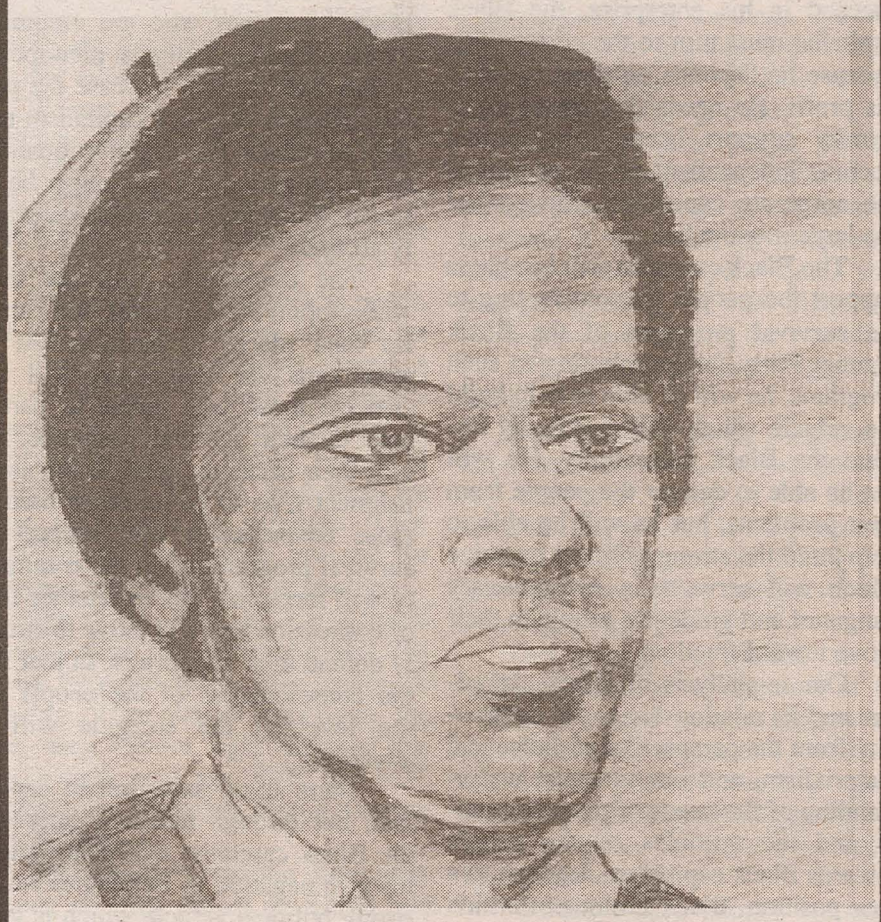
In the absence of any physical evidence, the government introduced ideological evidence of his guilt, by substituting editions of the African People's Socialist Party's newspaper, *The Burning Spear*, where articles were published that were severely critical of Korean merchants situated in Black neighborhoods.

Political, published opinions, supposedly protected by the First Amendment's "free press" guarantee, were weapons utilized by government to take Fred Jr.'s freedom.

Even after his conviction, Fred has been shuffled from prison to prison, an obvious effort to isolate this young man from family, his friends and his political base.

As of this writing, Hampton is being held at Big Muddy Prison, some 300 miles from Chicago, an area reputed to be Klanland. Free Fred Hampton Jr. !

Artist on Display



Dr. Huey P. Newton

by Steve Searcy

On the evening of August 23, l989, my mother came in to the kitchen where I was reading to give me a bit of news she'd just gotten off T.V.

"Huey Newton was killed today", she told me. "He got shot!" She was shocked and so was I. The next evening I carried a bouquet of flowers to the house in front of which Huey had been shot the day before, and found a shrine. Candles were glowing, and a crowd was there, conversing softly.

Biku of Uhuru House was there showing *Black Panther* movies of the '60's on a portable T.V./VCR.

By the following Sunday I'd completed two drawings in color and took them back here. I ran into a friend who placed them inside the wreath and under Huey's original *Black Panther* Cap. As a tribute to Huey I had them placed in the l990 edition of the Talisman, the yearbook of Tech High. Huey had graduated from Tech High in l959. Doing this seemed like a nice way to remember him.

Here for the readers of The *Commemorator* is one of the two drawings as they appeared (in color) at Huey's Shrine and (in black and white) in the *Talisman*, the Tech High yearbook, the following June.

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Continuation from the last issue

Health Care for the Poor: The Clinton Plan

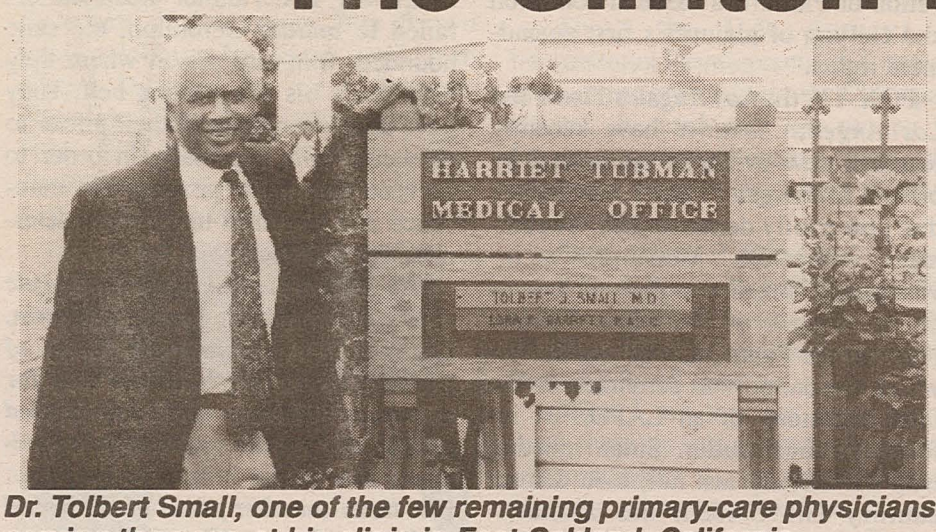


Photo by Evan Daniel

Dr. Tolbert Small, one of the few remaining primary-care physicians serving the poor, at his clinic in East Oakland, California.

DR. SMALL: The whole system... Let's say if you qualify for Medi-Cal, and not all poor people qualify for Medi-Cal, then you can't find a doctor because the reimbursement rate (by the government to doctors who take Medi-Cal) is so low that most of the primary care physicians won't see you. They can't pay their staff and rent on what Medi-Cal pays them, so the government has set up a "no-win" situation for the few physicians who are primary care physicians, because of what Medi-Cal will pay them. So they give you a Medi-Cal card and say you are covered, but what if you can't find a doctor to see you?

COMMEMORATOR: So how does the government justify reimbursement of Medi-Cal? What is the percentage of reimbursement? Is it 60 percent of what you put out?

DR. SMALL: Our Medi-Cal reimbursement is about 20 to 30 percent of what it really should be, and so consequently you have a system of people on Medi-Cal who wind up running into the emergency rooms and waiting until they are very ill to see a doctor.

I think that, obviously, this country is one of the wealthiest countries in the world and as you know, it's the only industrialized country that does not have decent health care for its people, just like South Africa.

Single-Payer Would Eliminate the Insurance Company Cut

If we had a "One Payer" system we would eliminate the insurance companies, and that large one-fourth of the pie would go toward providing health care.

COMMEMORATOR: What do you think of the economic situation, how it has moved and motivated the health care situation?

DR. SMALL: That is a good point, General Motors closed its plant in Van Nuys and moved it to Canada. General Motors found out that it spends more money on health care than on steel for each car that is produced. So they decided that Canada had a single payer system, so they moved the plant to Canada because they figured they could make a greater profit. A greater profit based on the fact that Canada had a single payer system.

So ironically, it makes good business sense for the American people, in the American corporations, to eliminate the insurance companies' role in health care. However, the insurance companies are very powerful. Zoe Baird, who worked for AETNA, was going to become the attorney general. AETNA was one of the biggest donors to the Clinton campaign. They have very strong lobbyists. They may control up to 30-40 percent of the people in Congress. Even though 70 percent of the American people desire a single-payer system, we are going to have to fight for it, because the leadership is not going to come from Washington, D.C.

COMMEMORATOR: Seventy-three percent of the people wanted an end to the Vietnam War too. But it didn't matter what percentage of the people said they wanted it over, the war was carried on. Congress voted to halt aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, but the White House found a way to get around that too, via the Iran-Contra affair. It would matter if we were living in a democracy.

Change Will Only Come from the Bottom Up

I think you know, it's (change in health care reform) going to come from the bottom up. It's not going to come from the President, it's not going to come from the politicians, it's not going to come from the sleaze bags that run our insurance companies...it's going to come from the bottom up. It's going to have to be mass organizations, from the churches, grass roots political organizing for a decent health care system for the people in the US. It is similar to the women's right-to-vote movement in the twenties. It's going to be similar to the so-called civil rights movement of the sixties. The leadership did not come from Washington, it did not come from the congressmen, it came from the streets of our cities and that's how it will be with health care. The citizens of this country will have to demand decent health care. The money is being spent. It's 14 percent of the national budget, it's just that it is designed to be controlled by the insurance companies.

DR. SMALL: I think that the work is cut-out for the humanitarians and activists who are concerned about changing the health care system. We have a system now in which 25 percent of the health care dollar goes to the insurance companies, we have 38 million people who have no insurance, we have certain executives of HEALTH-NET who are going to make a $100 million in mergers. This $100 million should be spent in providing health care.

We have six hospitals that have folded, we have doctors who for economic reasons cannot afford to open up an office. We have a president who is in debt to the insurance companies, so he wishes to continue to have the fox guard the hen house. So, I think that the American people have their work cut out for them in making any changes.

Refugees of War

by Bracha Serri

Refugees of war
knocking on my door
asking comfort.
Casualties of harsh laws
unbearable authorities
police that beat
to death
to madness
spilling their hearts
seeking refuge
first aid and support.
Refugees of war
with senses
and soul
the first to feel
and in need of comfort.
Refugees of war
who have visioned before
the magnitude of disaster
are knocking on my door
tearing my heart
wounding my body
asking for a word of
warmth.

January 21, 1988.

Managed Health Care Slammed As Genocide

Continued from page 1

then the doctor's advice doesn't mean too much," said Martin Waukazoo, Director of the Native American Health Center in East Oakland, California. "The United States government has continually violated treaties signed since the beginning of the government related to Native American rights. The many community service programs of the Black Panther Party in the past is what is needed in low-income communities today. When a person comes into our center for health service, we try to provide some of those day-to-day needs. There needs to be a multi-service approach to health care."

According to Dr. Tolbert Small, primary care physician and head of the Harriet Tubman Clinic, "I'm afraid you might see these HMOs have greater emphasis on financial awards to physicians who save them money (you know that everyone wants to practice effective health care as cheaply as possible) but I don't think that consumers know that they may be going to an HMO that rewards their physicians for perhaps using cheaper medications and saving money. I'm afraid that you will see alot of that in 'managed competition.'"

Opression by Exclusion

Widely viewed as an indicator of how the Clinton Administration's "Health Security Act" would work nationally, according to George Nobbe of Tennessee's *Medical Herald*, TennCare "denies the state's 700,000 Medicaid beneficiaries, one third of whom are African Americans, access to proper medications and treatments without prior government approval."

Tennessee's program contracted with a Rhode Island company to supply all the necessary Medicaid drugs to Tennessee for a flat fee of $18 per patient per month. That means every prescription filled will reduce the company profits.

Griner estimated that only six of about 80 new drugs approved by the Federal Food and Drug Administration in the past three years are available under TennCare's "prior approval." Only one of the 34 priority drugs that are new are approved. Among those excluded are medications that require taking only one pill a day, instead of three.

Griner & Burroughs are both upset about the mandating of generic drugs for poor patients. This has been a source of many complaints about the quality of care under Tennessee's TennCare program.

Physicians explained that "it fails to understand that appropriate medication can save money in the long run by preventing unnecessary tests, outpatient surgery, or trips to the emergency room."(Tennessee Plan...)

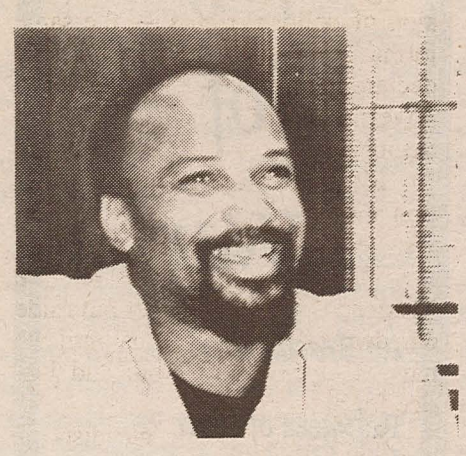
Gerald E. Thomson, M.D., an associate dean of the Columbia University College of Physicians & Surgeons, where he is a professor of medicine, said "Certain drugs are more beneficial to certain groups, many of the Calcium channel blockers like Procardia, are excellent for African Americans.

"Many of the generic companies simply don't make as good a product or the product does not work as well." His concern is that a reform plan driven by cost concerns and not patient needs could well perpetuate a two-tiered system of health care.

June Jackson Christmas, M.D., a former New York City Mental Health Commissioner, who is now chairperson of the Urban Issues Group says,

Continued on page 19

Jailed Former Black Panther Leader Wins Against California Prison Persecution



Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt

Jailed former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has won a tremendous victory against a pattern of brutal retaliation by the state. On June 27 in San Francisco, a federal court delivered a stinging rebuke to California Department of Corrections (CDC) officials. Judge Stanley Weigel cited a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution by prison officials aimed at denying Geronimo's first amendment rights, which are "critical to his long-standing effort to prove his innocence." Ordering the CDC to house Geronimo in a "single cell in a Level III prison," the ruling goes into effect immediately. It is intended to prevent CDC officials from further vindictive measures involving Geronimo's prison status. The order specifically excludes their transferring him to a double cell except "in the event of a bona fide emergency, such as a fire or earthquake."

Attorneys for Geronimo sought the court order after prison officials suddenly transferred him to a two-man cell at Mule Creek Prison on January 7. As described by the court, "irregular transfer procedures" were precipitously initiated on Christmas Eve, only two days after Geronimo decided to accept an interview with KTTV in L.A. The punitive transfer was then carried out two days after the new KTTV FOX series dramatically portrayed the compelling evidence of Geronimo's frame-up by the FBI and LAPD. Weigel's ruling noted that the FOX series "exposed for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years."

Along with the CDC'S "history of retaliation against Plaintiff," the court ruling described medical problems stemming from Geronimo's service as a highly decorated and twice-wounded soldier in the Vietnam War that are the basis of his need for a single cell. Weigel warned of the "possible aggravation of Plaintiff's medical condition and chilling of plaintiff's first amendment rights."

FOX-TV, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* have recently reported new evidence uncovered by private investigator James McCloskey that powerfully demonstrates %wronimo's innocence. McCloskey's investigation linked two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party to the Santa Monica murder for which Geronimo was convicted on the false testimony of an LAPD/FBI informer, Julius Butler. Since meeting with McCloskey last fall, L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti has acknowledged that his office is reviewing Geronimo's case but according to the *LA Times* (May 24) he has "set no deadline for completion of the review."

"Geronimo's decades-long fight to win freedom and to halt the government vendetta that has pursued him inside prison walls has made him a symbol of the fight against racist injustice in this country," said Geronimo's lawyer, Valerie West. "Here we have a man who was framed and falsely imprisoned by the government's COINTELPRO program that murdered 38 Panthers outright. After their attack on LA Panther headquarters failed to murder Geronimo, the state hounded him into prison where they have made his life a living hell. They have done everything in their power to persecute him, especially in order to prevent him from proving his innocence and to punish him for his determined persistence

On Wednesday, August 24, Mule Creek State Prison, Ione, California, Geronimo went before the Board of Correction for the thirteenth time for a parole hearing and was denied parole, despite the overwhelming evidence that shows him to be innocent. The three-member panel of the Board of Prison Terms, "Reached the decision after a brief hearing," according to the Associated Press, August 25. "He received a one-year denial," which means he will not likely receive another parole hearing for another year.

Geronimo was represented by Attorney Kathleen Cleaver, former Black Panther leader along with co-counsel Stuart Hanion. In the face of their vicious vendetta, he remains unbroken. He must be freed now!

Nathan Cosby Killing Update

Official Investigation Whitewashes Police Actions

In the June issue of the *Commemorator* we reported on the shooting of 33-year old Oakland school district employee Nathan Cosby by Oakland police during a raid on his east Oakland home, on a warrant that did not even name him as a suspect. In this issue we report on the Cosby family's response to a report on the killing, by the Alameda County District Attorney's office. The family has also filed a lawsuit against the City of Oakland.

Alameda County District Attorney Beatty Thompson reports that Oakland Police officers were justified when they surrounded and broke into the home of Nathan Cosby January 6 of this year, shooting his dogs in the back yard and then shooting Cosby as he looked out the window to see what was going on.

Thompson's report does not address allegations that Cosby was a victim of mistaken identity, nor is there any mention of the fact that police were acting on inadequate and unverified information, and found none of the items in the Cosby home that informants arrested in Pleasanton had led police to expect.

The report does not mention that the police entered onto Cosby's premises without announcing themselves and that Oakland police were not named in the search warrant obtained by Pleasanton police. Thompson's report does not even mention the shooting of Cosby's dogs by police invading the back yard. "I find it kind of odd to leave out important parts, the animals that were killed, if it has relevance to the events, the attitude at the time," said Cosby's brother Robert.

Photo courtesy of the Cosby family

Nathan Roy Cosby was shot by Oakland police Jan., 6 1994

Police report they got the information that led them to Cosby's home from two young women arrested for fraudulent use of credit cards at Stormridge Mall in Pleasanton. The women reported they got the credit cards from Cosby; the police allege the cards were stolen, but took no steps to verify the story before assembling the heavily armed task force that struck Cosby's home without notice and killed him.

Faulty Evidence

"How can you justify killing an unarmed man and his dogs, on his own property?" is the question anguished family members, neighbors, and terrified east Oakland residents have asked ever since. No justification is provided by the police report, and, as Cosby's brother affirmed "There is no justification!" The D.A.'s report does not address this point either.

"Officer Belker [who fired the fatal shot] states that he acted for his own safety," said Robert Cosby, "that there was nothing between him and the brother except a rose bush. And maybe fifteen more actions behind that. Why was he in a position behind a rose bush? They state nothing about going on faulty information. There are so many ways they could have questioned him at work, he works for the school district, or they could gladly have gotten him at home. Why can't they exercise the same judgment in my community that they use up in Montclair, Piedmont, Dublin, Lafayette?

"We are disappointed that people we hoped — that our community leaders—haven't stepped up and taken the swing we thought they would, because he was a citizen in the community. Anytime they can do something like this and justify it, they don't have to answer to no-one."

Those who mourn Nathan Cosby's death are working with groups such as People United for a Better Oakland (PUEBLO) in an effort to build com-

Continued on page 19

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Haiti: Story Behind the Story

Continued from page 5

this, so that is why they want to keep the status quo?

Exactly, and they have a very good lobby for this. For example U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown was the lobbyist for "Baby Doc" [Jean Claude Duvalier, the son of Francois Duvalier, "Papa Doc," who ruled Haiti from 1957 until his death in 1971]. According to an article I read, he was responsible for increasing the aid that

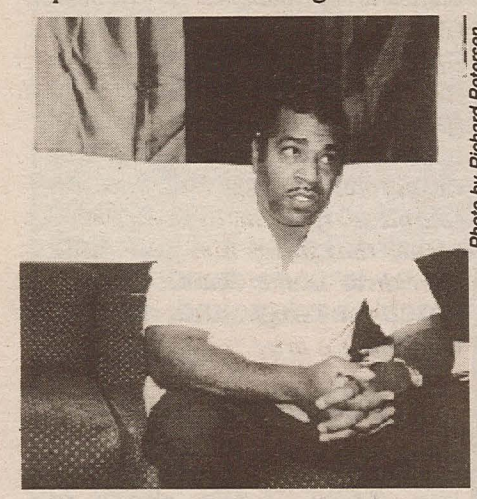

Photo by Richard Petersen

Haitian activist and poet, Pierre Labossier, interviewed by *Commemorator* on the state of affairs in Haiti.

"Baby Doc" was getting from $20 million to $35 million, which was around '83, '84, this is the kind of stuff you see there. At that time "Baby Doc's" regime was guilty of the worst human rights abuses you can imagine.

In Haiti, there is no welfare, no social security. Well, there is but it doesn't really function that well. You don't get the Social Security benefit. Environmental laws? There are no such things in existence. Whatever labor laws we have, the employer doesn't have to abide by them. Minimum wage? You pay what you want. Nobody really enforces it.

So Aristide's government actually was showing the difference in this whole thing. For the first time unions were organizing and there was going to be enforcement of the labor laws. Father Aristide demanded an increase in the minimum wage, which is now set at $2.20 a day. This is the official rate. And in Haitian dollars which is a lot less than American dollars. But he was seeking an increase which amounted to about $5.00 a day.

According to a report by the National Labor Committee for Human rights in Central America, U.S. AID financed and helped the business community in Haiti come together to oppose this increase in minimum wage. So U.S. AID is using our tax money here....

U.S. AID, that's a Federal agency?

That's the U.S. Agency for International Development [Ed. note: a widely-recognized front for CIA operations]. It used our tax money to finance a campaign against raising the minimum wage in Haiti from $2.00 to $5.00 a day.

Now where is President Clinton in all this? Why is he taking a sideline seat in all this? I mean, what's his position, has he just sold out to the lobbyists in all this?

What I see that has happened is this: there is no outrage from the administration. I saw more outrage from the administration from the caning of the youth [Michael Fay] in Singapore, than I saw for people being murdered over those many years in Haiti. It has got to be the same standard for everybody.

The U.S. Agency for International Development used our tax money to finance a campaign against raising the minimum wage in Haiti from $2.00 to $5.00 a day.

There was an incident, for example, where a Haitian boat picked up five Cubans who were on a raft and the Coast Guard Cutter came and picked up the Cubans and took them to Miami. They were welcome, and the Haitians were taken and sent back to Haiti into the hands of the military!

Now as part of the Clinton administration you get mixed feelings, different pronouncements, different dates. And what is this saying to the Haitian military? It is clearly signaling that their activities have been condoned. They have nothing to fear. For example, with the Clinton administration, and it is common knowledge, it's been reported in all the papers that they were putting pressure on the government of Aristide to give blanket amnesty to the Haitian military for the crimes they have committed. What they wanted the blanket amnesty for is complete...they won't be prosecuted.

Now imagine, for any crime they have committed during the coup, throughout, and until the crisis is resolved. Now what are you saying to these guys, "Go ahead and kill, do what you have to do."

You still have a license to commit more crimes.

Exactly, and then there has been this whole issue of the refugees. It is a shameful thing. To pick up our people on the high seas.

When Clinton was a candidate he took a very good stand, a moral stand, the legal stand. The stand, that our people under international laws and U.S. laws, would be respected regarding the human rights of people seeking political asylum, but when he became president he changed his tune.

All Haitians who leave Haiti are not coming to the United States...the U.S. picks up Haitians and takes them to the Haitian military.

He not only went along with the Bush administration's policy, but he actually became a more enthusiastic enforcer of that policy.

Brothers and sisters, you have to understand this: All Haitians who leave Haiti are not coming to the United States, and I have translated for many many refugees, who have told me that they knew that the U.S. picks up Haitians and takes them to the Haitian military.

They were not coming to the U.S. As a matter of fact one captain told me that the people on his boat that *they spent three hours dodging the U.S. Coast Guard,* refusing to stop and some of them picked up clubs, or whatever they could to fight it out because *they didn't want to come to the US!*

So what does the Coast Guard do now when they intercept a ship? Do they bring a ship into the U.S.?

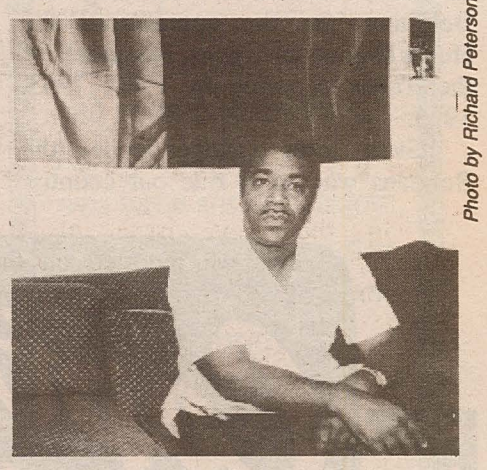

Photo by Richard Peterson

Well, what happens is they stop all boats in Haitian territorial waters, even some that go outside. And they arrest them. They burn the boat.

The U.S. government does this?

They burn the boat with all the people's belongings.

They burn their belongings?

They burn their belongings and then they send them all back into Haiti.

And then they send them on their boat and they actually drop them back into Haiti?

Exactly. Now they say they turn them back to Haitian immigration authority. But I want to clear this, Haitian immigration authority is the Haitian military.

I come from Haiti, when I had to go to Haitian immigration, I went to army headquarters; this is where immigration is. Also, Haiti is a very militarized country. The firefighters in Haiti are part of the Haitian military. That is why they call them the Haitian armed forces.

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Statement from the Zapatista National Liberation Army

First: We have respected the international conventions of warfare while we have carried out our military actions. These conventions have allowed us to be recognized as a belligerent force by national and foreign forces. We will continue to respect these conventions.

Second: We order all of our regular and irregular forces, both in national territory and outside the country, to respect the cease-fire in order to permit civil society to organize, in whatever forms they consider pertinent, toward the goal of achieving a transition to democracy in our country.

Third: We condemn the threats against civil society brought about by the militarization of the country both in terms of personal and modern repressive equipment, during this time leading up to the federal elections. Without a doubt, the Salinas government is trying to impose its will by fraud. We will not permit this.

Fourth: We propose to all independent political parties that are suffering from intimidation and repression of political rights — the same intimidation and repression that they declare themselves in favor of a government of transition toward democracy.

Fifth: We reject the manipulation and the attempts to separate our just demands from the demands of the Mexican people. We are Mexicans, and we will not put aside our demands nor our arms until we have democracy, freedom and justice for all.

Sixth: We reiterate our disposition towards finding a political solution to the transition to direct the peaceful efforts towards democracy, freedom and justice. Democratic change is the only alternative to war.

Seventh: We call on all honest sectors for civil society to attend a National Dialogue for Democracy, Freedom and Justice.

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Rwanda: Another Perspective

Continued from page 1

specifies your ethnic group: Rwanda/Tutsi and Rwanda/Hutu.

You had to carry it everywhere; it was worse than South African Pass Laws. The Hutu and the Tutsi had never fought each other before colonization. (The Tutsi worked mostly with cattle, and the Hutu worked in agriculture.)

In Rwanda, the land has historically been controlled by the people. Because coffee is the only product Rwanda exports to other countries which brings in revenue, the government developed regulations concerning the harvesting of the coffee and its exportation. You had to take very good care of your coffee, to be able to buy something to eat.

The Tutsi and the Hutu speak the same language, have the same culture, and eat the same foods. Some Hutus look like some Tutsis. Sometimes they say the Tutsi are tall — I'm not tall. You can have tall Hutus too.

Divide and control

Year after year, the Hutu were told by Belgians that they are inferior to Tutsi. At the time of independence, the Hutus were preferred by the Belgians. In turn, instead of blaming the Belgians [for the oppression] the Hutus blamed the Tutsis. Massacres of the Tutsis occurred in 1960, 1963, 1973.

Even after independence, the Belgians wanted to rule our country. We would be called independent, but we would be forced to do what the Belgians wanted us to do.

The Belgians knew they couldn't keep us down with the traditional kings, who had also fought for independence. So the Belgians killed them; they killed our king, Charles Mwutawara III, and murdered Burundi's King Basouri in 1959.

Mwutawara Dawhigwa was king of both the Tutsi and the Hutu, but the Belgians had to divide the people, in order to conquer us. All of the people who fought for independence in Central Africa were killed. Patrice Lumumba of Zaire also was killed in what was then called the Belgian Congo.

From the 1960s to today, the U.S. and other imperialist countries have been in economic and political control of Rwanda. Of course, they have their embassies in our country.

Today the French cause much of the trouble. First of all, the French want to protect the French language. But the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), who are winning, are English speaking. The RPF have a tendency to seek relations with English speaking countries. If they want help, they will go to London, or the United States, before they will go to France.

Almost half of African is French speaking, Zaire Gabon, Congo, Senegal, Mali, Algeria...

I'm blaming the French for what they did. And now they come back to be our savior.

Who are they going to save?

Almost a million people have died already, now they come to protect the people? I don't think so. They think we are stupid, or what?

"They killed my Dad, my mom, my brothers and sisters..."

The massacre was not accidental, it was prepared.

The former Rwandan government and the French tried to make the massacre look like a tribal fight, but it was a massacre of a group of people.

The RPF has proof that prior to the assassination of the president of Rwanda, the French paid $6 million to buy weapons from the Egyptians for the Hutu.

Can the Hutu and Tutsi live together again?

They killed my dad, they killed my mom, they killed my brothers and sisters. In spite of this I understand it's not a matter of Hutu versus Tutsi.

No, it is a matter of divisions, a matter of imperialism, where a powerful country can dictate whatever they want to. They want to sell their weapons, so now the government of Rwanda has a $6 million debt to pay back to France. They don't care about the Hutu or the Tutsi—the French government doesn't care; they care only about their money.

The French are laundering weapons. The French and Belgians make military handguns and small arms for use by NATO, their own troops, and for their paying customers.

Many countries are now on the RPF side because they did what they promised. RPF said, "no civilians will be hurt, we are fighting against the military, we are not fighting civilians," even if their parents were killed.

The RPF stuck to their principles. But our people got scared and left, or they were frightened into leaving the country. My American friend told me, "This reminds me of the propaganda campaign we ran in Vietnam at the end of the war. When we left," he said, "we distributed leaflets over all the countryside telling people to run for your lives, the Communists are coming and they will kill you and your family. Everyone knew, the villagers had nothing to fear from the Viet Cong, we just wanted to scare all the people off and leave the Viet Cong nothing."

They will be back

Our people will return to Rwanda. Zaire cannot help anybody, they cannot even help themselves. The people of Zaire are dying from hunger and all kinds of diseases. They don't have any doctors in Zaire, they don't have anything!

Goals of the Rwandan Patriotic Front

The first thing the Patriotic Front wants is to bring our people home. We have been in exile for 33 years, our call is, "*Bring the people home!*" We're tired of being refugees all over the globe.

Second, the RPF wants to bring democracy to Rwanda. *Real* democracy this time, where the people have something to say, where people are elected by the people, not just electing a president for life. Mobutu [President

Continued on page 14

Mathilde Mukantabana Presentation:

Roots of the Rwandan violence

Many major newspapers and televisions have tried to explain that the current massacres in Rwanda were the result of centuries-old tribal hatred brought by the domination of the Tutsi ethnic group over the Hutus. This is a distortion of facts and a tendency to oversimplify more complex social and political realities. I think it is important for us to understand the historical background to this conflict:

1. Pre-colonial period:

Ours was not a caste system. Many Tutsis chose to become agriculturalists like their Hutu neighbors and many Hutus concentated on raising cattle. It was very frequent for Hutus to become Tutsi and vice versa by the type of complex alliances they chose to have. Cattle owners generally had more power and wealth but social mobility and intermarriages allowed both ethnic groups to participate in political and social matters as equal. Hutu and Tutsi had come to share a common language, a common culture and formed local entities in each neighborhood.

2. Colonial legacy:

Germany reinforced dominance of cattle raising people Tutsis over agriculturalists Hutu. But it was mostly during the Belgian administration that colonial policy of "divide to rule" took strong hold in Rwanda. First they established a system of pass requiring Rwandans to carry an identity card stating their ethnicity. That ethnicity was sometimes arbitrary. For instance anyone owning 10 cows became a Tutsi although there were Hutus who had more than 10 cows, a poor Tutsi who did not have cattle automatically became Hutu. There were other ridiculous criteria I am not going to get into. The shape of one's nose, the height and so on, became a defining factor. All this heightened ethnic awareness, divided the people along rigid ethnic lines thus limiting social mobility.

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When Justice is Incidental

Conclusion

On December 4th, 1969 at around 4:00 a.m., the police raid on Fred Hampton's apartment began. Emerging from a van bearing the markings of Illinois Bell phone company, fourteen Illinois state policemen armed with shotguns and at least one automatic weapon, surrounded Fred Hampton's apartment at 2337 West Monroe, one block from the Black Panther Party headquarters. The raid was led by Sergeant James "Glove" Davis.

The Chicago chapter was having a week-long retreat at the time and had brought all the satellite chapters to Chicago for the retreat. In addition to Fred Hampton and Deborah Johnson, who lay sleeping next to Fred in a bedroom at the back, Louis Trueluck, Harold Bell, Vernon Brewer, Blair Anderson, Ronald (Doc) Satchel, Minister Of Medicine, and Mark Clark were in the apartment.

The raid started with the police knocking on the front door. When one of the Panthers inside came to the door and asked "Who is there?" the police responded with the joke, "Tommy," and opened fire with their weapons. Gunfire tore through the door and into the apartment.

The police then kicked in the door and sprayed the apartment with gunfire. Deborah Johnson and Fred Hampton lay sleeping in their bed. Aiming their weapons in the direction of their bed, as indicated by the floor plan drawn up for the FBI by informant William O'Neal, the police opened fire.

Forty-five rounds hit the bed and, in turn, Fred Hampton. Not one shot hit Deborah Johnson who was pregnant with Fred Hampton's still unborn son. The Panthers shouted for the shooting to stop, yelling at the police that there was a pregnant sister in the apartment. Deborah Johnson then got up carefully, not even covering herself, and moved slowly away from the bed and out of the bedroom.

"Tommy"

The police moved into the bedroom. She heard two unfamiliar voices saying "He's not dead. He might make it," and the shooting started up again. Once the shooting stopped, again the unfamiliar voice said, "He's good and dead now." Coroner Andrew J. Toman later said that Hampton was shot twice in the head.

In addition to Fred Hampton, Mark Clark had been killed in the raid. He had been shot once in the left side of his chest and once in the left arm. Satchel was wounded in the abdomen and left leg. Blair Anderson was shot in the abdomen. Vernon Brewer was shot in the left leg and thigh. Deborah Johnson, Louis Trueluck and Harold Bell were not wounded. All surviving members of the attack were arrested for attempted murder.

The official police account of the raid was that the Panthers shot first and the police were only defending themselves. The police insisted that it was after the attack that a wild gun battle ensued, and that the police were carrying out a legal search for confiscated illegal weapons.

Cover-up

State's Attorney Hanrahan went before the press to say how proud he was of his men for carrying out the raid. He stated how he stood by the police account: "We wholeheartedly commend the police officers for their bravery, their remarkable restraint and discipline in the face of this vicious Black Panther attack, and we expect every decent citizen of our community to do likewise."

He refused to discuss the accuracy of the police account of the raid and

tried to support their account of the raid with photos that show supposed bullet holes where the Panthers fired first. He presented pictures of the apartment to show the bullet holes where Panthers had fired at police.

Everyone in the press bought Hanrahan's account except a young reporter named Brian Bowyer who went down to the apartment and saw evidence in conflict with Hanrahan's explanation of the events.The Black Panther Party and its attorneys had possession of the apartment, as the police had not sealed it off after the raid. They took the press through the apartment and showed that the bullet holes were not what they seemed, but instead were studs in the wall or bullet holes made from police guns, not Panthers'.

Editor Clayton Kirkpatrick, longtime FBI friend, ran a headlined story in the *Chicago Tribune* supporting the lie that the police assault was somehow justified. FBI headquarters authorized a $300.00 bonus to O'Neal for "uniquely valuable service which he rendered of the past several months."

Conflicting descriptions of the raid began to make the papers in Chicago.The police tried to provide justification for the raid by putting forth the story that illegal guns were stashed in the apartment. But even O'Neal's last spy mission for the FBI reported that the Panther guns were legal and registered. It was clear to those who investigated the murder of Fred Hampton that this police raid was no more than a death squad working

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Rwanda: Another Perspective

Continued from page 12

of Zaire] has been president for 33 years. What has he been doing? The country is very rich [diamonds and gold, silver and many other minerals], but it's very poor too. The people are starving, their money has no value.

The RPF really wants to fight for democracy, where you have the right to live, and the right to land. All along, during the war, they proved that was their objective. RPF tried for almost ten years to compromise with the government, to sit down, and talk, and to let these people (Rwandan refugees) come back home.

But the president said, "No, the country is too small, the country is too poor, we don't have any place to put you." The RPF responded by asking, "If the country is small, if the country is poor, is it a reason to throw some of our people out?"

We have to get to know the people, to tell them about our goal, teach them about democracy and human rights. The people don't even know who we are. RPF started teaching on the radio, about its beliefs and its history. RPF has its own radio station and people are listening, and are finding out that what RPF is saying is true.

We are not going to touch any civilians, we are fighting the military.

"The RPF wants peace.
But we are tired of being refugees."

We wanted to come back in peace. We had to do something, because we are tired of being refugees. Some, a few people like the ones who have a chance at an education, come to America or go to Canada, France or Belgium. The French said they are there to protect the refugees. They aren't protecting anyone because the refugees are going to other countries.

The U.N. sent in the United Nations army, but the problem is that while they are there, *they really do nothing*. They cannot mix with the war, they cannot fight between the government and the RPF. So U.N. troops were there, but lost, it was too big for them.

They couldn't run after those murderers, so they stayed in Kigali and helped pick up the wounded people and put them in hospitals, where if they [the government troops] came back they would just kill them anyway.

So there was never any security for us even when the U.N. was there.

Before the plane crash [in April when both Rwandan and Burundi presidents were killed] the presidents had signed agreements in Arusha, Tanzania, and they even agreed on a transition government. The presidents were returning from the negotiations, on the same plane, when they were killed.

In America you have your problems: drugs, poverty, homelessness. When you've been a victim for a long time, you don't have the energy to try to change anything.

The poor people in America are no better off than Tutsi

In America everything that happens concerns money; it is the economy.

The poor people in America are no better off than Tutsi, nowadays. They die from drugs, guns; drug dealers hit them because they are living on the other side of the tracks.

There is no protection, just like what was done to the Tutsi, nobody was protecting them because the Tutsi didn't have anybody powerful in that government to talk for them. The only help they could get was from outside of the government. I think all the struggle is a matter of class.

Low class, poor people are the same everywhere, no one wants to talk for the poor. There is no exploitation involved if you work for the people. You have to give your time, your brain, everything for free. There is a big separation between the two classes. This country needs changes very soon.

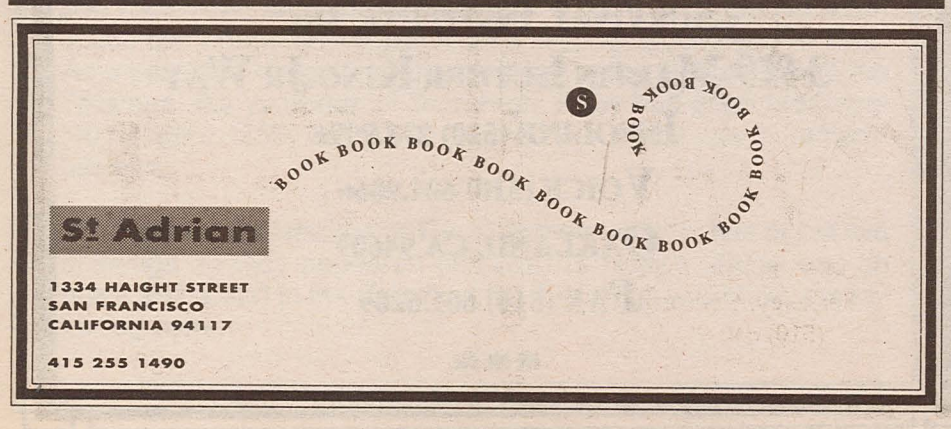
Because it is going to get ugly here, too, I can see it. I am not going to say that it is going to be like in Rwanda. But you can see it, people are getting hungry, people are losing their jobs, they cannot feed themselves with minimum wage jobs.

Our struggle is similar to the African American movements of the 1960s. We need you to support our fight for human rights, like you did in the 1960s. We are starting again, because we have been independent for many years but we have never really known democracy.

We don't have enough resources but the black community around the United States has told us they are going to help us the best they can. In Rwanda it was very difficult to unite because if you try to hold a meeting and they see that more than ten people attend, you go to jail, or you die.

A distinction must be made between tribes and tribalism. The clan is the extended family, and the tribe is the extended clan with the same ethnic language within a territory. There were tribes in Africa before imperialist penetration, but no "tribalism" in the modern sense. Tribalism arose from colonialism, which exploited feudal and tribal survivals to combat the growth of national liberation movements.

Kwame Nkrumah



The Crime of Poverty

Continued from page 4

interest business loans and subsidies, more funds for education, funding of job training and recreation centers, and family/substance abuse clinics within the community. These are the basics of a community, local businesses to provide employment (and a tax base), places for local youth to play and learn, and places for those that are injured or ill to get treatment.

For example, where I live in Oakland, the employment bases for African Americans (and most working class people) were the shipyards and metal works located near the San Francisco Bay. San Pablo Avenue was a bustling shopping district with many small family-owned businesses.

People had jobs which provided a livable income, and businesses in the area catered to their needs.

With the loss of these heavy industrial jobs, the neighborhood businesses lost needed revenues, which led to their closure.

Blatant Failure

The San Pablo Avenue that exists today illustrates this plainly: no jobs, therefore no support for local businesses, which equals even fewer jobs and services. urban abandonment for academics and poverty pimps.

Given that these policies are such a blatant failure in our communities, why are they enacted, and who do they serve?

The legislators refuse to admit their relationships with the prison industry, or the developers who provide money for their campaigns, or with the law enforcement/correctional establishment.

These policies mean big bucks for land developers eager to make huge profits from desolate unproductive land, while funds increase for police, prison guards, and other law enforcement agencies. In fact, New York Corrections Commissioner Thomas Coughlin has declared it "the nation's only recession-proof industry" (see August/September 1993 *Commemorator*, "Caged Labor").

In the 1990s, a prison guard in California with a high-school diploma or GED will earn more than a public school teacher with a Master's degree. This statistic alone says more about our legislators' opinion of value on education vs. incarceration than any of the political posturing done by our elected representatives.

Prisons have become our new industrial complex, replacing paid workers in such disparate fields as clothing, medicine, and electronics. Corporations and multinational financial interests such as E.F. Hutton, RCA Government Services (a subsidiary of General Electric), Export-Import Bank, Bechtel Corp. and hordes of other profiteers are scrambling for their share of the multibillion dollar corrections market ("Caged Labor").

Concerning Drugs

All too often I have heard and seen the violence that erupts from drugs and gangs. I agree that drugs (especially alcohol) can cause one to lose inhibitions and act violently.

However, beyond the individual damage done by drugs, there are social costs including crime, resulting from the profitability of illicit drugs. In a neighborhood with no other job opportunities, "slanging" dope becomes an economic option. When one day of such sales exceeds a week's pay at the government's current minimum wage, the economics speak for themselves.

Drug violence occurs when someone attempts to expand in an area where there is already a provider, i.e., as someone attempts to expand their market share, providers get nervous and turn to violence. Shootouts are not the product of drugged up youths, but competitive capitalists trying to expand their market share, trying to "come up," using a more militant form of what is commonly accepted and called in the business world a "hostile takeover."

It seems like any news about my 'hood is shrouded in "crime/drug plagued Oakland"—as if the residents here are by nature more inclined to commit crime or use drugs than more affluent communities. What about the reality, that people rich and poor seek to escape pain and strain, either by escape to country clubs, cruise ships and resorts (if you are rich), or by alcohol, drugs, soap operas, valium and videos (if you are poor). The reasons the poor are often wrongly stereotyped as alcoholics, drug users, or "violent criminals" isn't due to any vague theoretical personality problem or racial characteristics (as the "experts" would proclaim), but a verifiable and observable phenomenon in our neighborhoods: poverty. The insecurity that comes with uncertain income sources, fostered by eroding job stability, trends toward temporary work, plant closures, development of desperate, cheap labor pools, like prison labor, student labor, welfare workers, immigrant labor, etc., all contribute to an increasing attitude of apathy, and an environment of crime and violence.

We are experiencing a war against the symptoms of poverty, a war against our poor neighborhoods. Whether it's the "War on Drugs" or the "War on Crime" we know exactly where the front lines are, in Oakland, Bay View/Hunter's Point, Fillmore and the Mission in San Francisco, East Palo Alto, North Richmond, East/South-Central Los Angeles, Philly, Detroit, Atlanta, Newark, Trenton, Bronx, Brooklyn, Harlem, Queens, our neighborhoods.

Nobody in power truly wants to address the reality of crime because to do so requires a critical evaluation of poverty, and that requires us as working class people to understand why these barbaric policies are enacted and whom they serve.

Finally, it is not my wish to legitimize drug use or violence within my community. My purpose rather is to critically analyze why crime and violence are occurring in our neighborhoods.

How did this happen, whom does it serve, and what are some of the real solutions?

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Haiti: Story Behind the Story

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So to a U.S. citizen when you say you take them to immigration authority, automatically, they think, "well it's a civilian, you know, sending a passport from another office." They take your fingerprints, they take your picture.

Now it has become a crime for anyone who has organized a boat, because you give Haiti a bad name. They are in hiding, some of them have been raped, some of the men have been beaten and tortured. And they all are just trying to get out. So many of them have been killed.

What do you think the policy of the Clinton administration should be toward Haiti?

Well, the number one thing is strong support for Father Aristide as president of Haiti. You hear different things, for example, the U.S. embassy in Haiti, in April, sent a telegram saying that all those reports of human rights abuses, starvation and tortures are fabrications of supporters of President Aristide. And this is in blatant contradiction to reports of U.N. observers (who, incidentally were kicked out of Haiti last week) with a listing of human right observers in Haiti. So, you have an embassy that is putting this kind of falsehood out there; you have President Clinton making good pronouncements, you have the CIA coming out with reports about President Aristide being crazy, being mentally unstable.

Do you think the U.S. should go in militarily and put Aristide back in office?

No. I am opposed to that, I do not feel it is necessary.

Why?

The Haitian military, since the invasion of Haiti in 1915 was trained, financed, equipped, by the U.S.... General Cedras himself, said 75% of his people were trained by the U.S. and many of them in the U.S. General Cedras, the chief of police, the notorious Michael Francois who was responsible for the death squads, he is a graduate of the School of the Americas, located at Fort Benning, Georgia.

It is our opinion that this school should be closed because it has produced nothing but a long line of massacreists; not only in Haiti but throughout Central and Latin America. U.S. invasion of Haiti is not necessary. In the past when the U.S.wanted change all they had to do was to pick up their phones and tell their students, "You know, you need to go," and that's all they need to do.

Secondly, the only common border is with the Dominican Republic, which itself receives 400 million U.S. dollars a year in aid, so there is very strong leverage there. So that is another way: they could put pressure on the Dominican Republic to enforce the embargo.

Thirdly, looking at the whole of an invasion of Haiti and given the past practice of the U.S. government and the U.S. military, they will train their guns...they will see the poor people as their enemy, and not the rich guys who live in the hills. And so they will train their guns on the poor people, because they [the masses of poor] will be demanding justice, demanding their rights. Their guns will not be trained on the criminals.

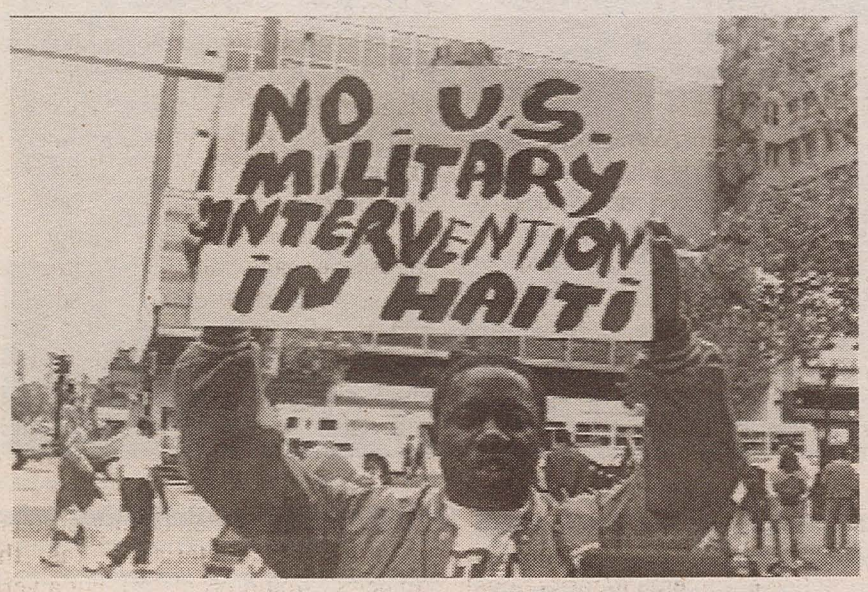

Photo by Richard Petersen

More demonstrators at the Federal Building in Oakland, where at least one man was slapped with a trumped-up felony charge of assaulting a police officer, a charge refuted by videotape of the event.

I am a strong believer that Haitians can do their own fighting. We can do it, we've done it before and we don't think anybody can do it for us. But we need a level playing field.

So what should the U.S. government do, what should the international position be?

The U.S. position should be this: number one, treat Cedras, Michael Francois, the Haitian military, as people who should go through a tribunal for crimes against humanity, similar to the Nuremberg trials. Secondly, strong and unequivocal support for Father Aristide to continue his mandate as the people of Haiti, as wished and willed it in their vote of 67%.

When Father Aristide came to power there was a very prophetic exchange. The American Ambassador at the time, when Aristide won the presidency, he said "Apres bal tambou lou" (After the party, then the tears will flow). And Father Aristide responded to him, "Anpil main, charge pa lou" (With many hands, the load gets lighter). What we saw, at that time when poor people in Haiti, pulling their resources together, their pennies, filling all the potholes in the streets of Port-au-Prince, cleaning the streets and setting up schools, rebuilding Haiti with their bare hands. That's what we saw, also there was a lot of aid that was promised at that time but none came in. All of a sudden the aid was promised. It was going to be money that was going to be repaid. None poured in, but when "Baby Doc" was getting the money—everybody

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Haiti Facts

Haitian workers assembling goods for export to the U.S market are being paid $.14 an hour. Companies pay no employee health and pension benefits. Apparel is being produced for Sears,J.C. Penny and WalMart, among others.

In 1991, the U.S. Agency for International development (USAID) organized, managed and financed elite business opposition to the economic and social policies of the democratically elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

USAID used U.S. tax dollars to actively oppose a minimum wage increase from $.33 to $.50 an hour proposed by the Aristide government.

Between 1983 and 1989, as apparel assembly and exports from Haiti to the U.S. doubled, real wages in Haiti were slashed 56 percent.

In February 1992, the Bush Administration lifted the OAS embargo for U.S. companies assembling goods in or sourcing production from Haiti. U.S. companies returning to Haiti used the climate of terror and military repression to destroy the unions in their factories. Despite the embargo, last year more than $67 million of apparel was imported to the U.S. from Haiti.

In lifting the OAS embargo on the export assembly sector the Bush Administration granted U.S. import licenses to wealthy Haiti business families who are publicly known to have supported and assisted in the coup.

Unions and peasant organizations have been and continue to be the target of fierce military repression. All normal union activities remain suppressed. Unions are growing weaker each day.

Despite a second OAS embargo of Haiti imposed on October 18, 1993, over 50 U.S. companies continue to import from Haiti.

Toys, fishing lures, cord, clay floor tiles, brooms, baseballs, softballs, pajamas, pants, T-shirts, and other such products made in Haiti are being imported to fifteen states across the country, including New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Florida Texas, Georgia and Massachusetts.

These goods are being imported into the U.S. under a still-standing loophole to the OAS embargo which the Bush Administration initiated when it exempted the U.S. maquiladora assembly industry from sanctions.

In 1992, Haiti exported over $67 million worth of apparel to the U.S. In the first nine months of 1993, apparel exports—$66.4 million worth—from Haiti were running 73 percent ahead of last year and total exports from Haiti to the U.S. were up 63 percent.

It is shocking that one of the Haitian companies allowed to export to the U.S., Agricaeram, is owned by a Mr. Gardere, who less than two weeks ago led a violent mob of stone throwing Duvalierists who attacked the Parliament while it was in session.

Baseballs and softballs made in Haiti are being exported Duty-free to the U.S. by one of Haiti's wealthiest businessmen, Fritz Mevs. These baseballs and softballs are made in Haiti by a U.S. -owned company, home of Champions, which recently illegally fired a score of union members at its plants.

In 1992, 25 percent of softball imports world wide to the U.S. came from Haiti. In the first ten months of 1993, Haiti exported 2.54 million softballs to the U.S.

Under the closed-door review process to bar coup-supporters, the U.S. Treasury monitors the granting of import licenses to companies trading with Haiti. It is clear that the Treasury Department is unable to properly monitor this trade.

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Editorial

Anatomy of a Government Raid on a Harlem Mosque

Continued from page 2

ship between EZ target victims and the bloodsuckers who stand to receive blood money for selling the EZ program at community level. Targeted minority EZ victims are in significant part the same groupings who are NOI members, supporters or sympathizers. The ruling class is well aware of the appeal of the NOI in the inner-city areas targeted across the nation for EZ exploitation.

Enterprise Zone Grants

Poor and minority community rejection of the ruling class's only urban inner-city economic initiative program in all likelihood would have devastating political effect on local and national politics from the New York governor's and senate races all the way to the White House. Political support of ruling-class interests with billions at stake in EZ grants, subsidies, credits, below fair market price purchasing-lease options, free government-supplied collateral for low interest loans, slave-wage reimbursements and numerous other benefits would be substantially undermined.

The ruling class, through the CBC, has adopted an iron fist-velvet glove approach to obtaining NOI support for its EZ initiative. The first part of the CBC's approach is to sell the NOI and other viable organizations on the marketability of a false image of economic progress which Reagan, Bush and Kemp called "Enterprise Zones," redubbed "Empowerment Zones," (EZ) by Clinton. The second part is to directly or indirectly use financial and other inducements and coercion to get the NOI to help sell the EZ false image as economic progress for poor inner-city minorities.

The CBC and what El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) referred to as handkerchief head Uncle Tom negroes, house niggers and black snobs throughout America made it clear in the wake of the L.A. insurrection that their job was to sell the idea of poor people trying to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps without boots through EZ's as economic progress (a false image). Maxine Waters, CBC member and representative for Rodney King's district, called for national and immediate implementation of EZ's on the heels of the uprising, and the chorus went up from so-called negro leaders everywhere: "Massa, we sho' need these zones now."

U.S. congressman and CBC member Charles Rangel has been credited with helping to get the EZ bill passed and had arranged with former NYC mayor David Dinkins, Governor Cuomo, and his son Andrew, now assistant Housing and Urban Development (HUD) secretary, to have Harlem, which includes Rangel's district, nominated and approved as an EZ, thereby bringing $100 million in grants over two years into Harlem. There would also be a 20 percent tax credit on the first $15,000 in wages, a new category of tax-exempt bonds to finance EZ businesses and grant funding (poverty pimp program) for offering EZ support service programs which give an aura of social acceptability to exploitation of low-paid EZ labor.

Editorial will continue with the final segment, *The Plan* next issue!

A Message To All Prisoners

Continued from page 2

no motorists with cameras passing by as in the Rodney King affair. You are told when, where and how to sit, stand, and dress and you can be commanded to undress (just as any slave at auction was) on the whim of any officer who desires to inspect your mouth, anus or genitals for alleged contraband.

Our labor at slave wages generates $13.5 million a year in revenues for the state, none of which goes to support either prisoners, victims or their families. The state pushes the needs of prisoners and their families out of the picture and pockets all of the money. Victims, victims' families and prisoners are brought into the limelight only when the not free, but cheap, bought and paid for media, needs images to inflame the paranoid public with sensationalism and one-sided selective reporting of horror stories taken out of context. This creates a hue and cry for more prisons and bigger prison budgets which means more money for the misery maggots who profit and a double-standard of the so-called equal justice within criminal "just us" system.

It is a diabolical shell game where the anguished cries of victims are used by the government, the rich and special interests groups it serves as the rationale for diverting public money, resources and attention away from the conditions of poverty, low wages, no health care, homelessness, hunger, unemployment and the long list of festering economic, social and political causes which endanger public safety and contribute to crime. Instead of programmatic solutions to these problems becoming the number one priority, public money, resources and attention become focused upon prison and police state expansion.

The government's own statistics show that America's prisons and death-houses are disproportionately overflowing with members of the lower-income working classes, especially the minorities. The media attempts to glamorize to the public the images of prisoners by saying that prisoners have unlimited access to cable T.V., salad bars, ice cream machines and miniature golf courses. This is a "Big Lie," the type perpetrated by Adolf Hitler and his fascist masters of scapegoating propaganda and deceit. Both the families of victims and of prisoners as well as victims and prisoners themselves suffer from exploitation by the same system where only a few profit—the rich.

Bloody Laws are Back!

Continued from page 4

n't clean it up, all of these things were mediated, and decided. The judgments were recorded and later became part of common law.

All courts used to judge differently disputes that came up. However laws like vagrancy are statutory laws, are statute law. Statute law is not from common law. Statute law has no connection to people's day-to-day needs. There's a law against sleeping under a bridge, for instance.

This is a statutory law.

There is no constitutional provision in the founding documents of this country that says that a citizen of this nation cannot sleep under a bridge or in a forest, a roadside or doorway.

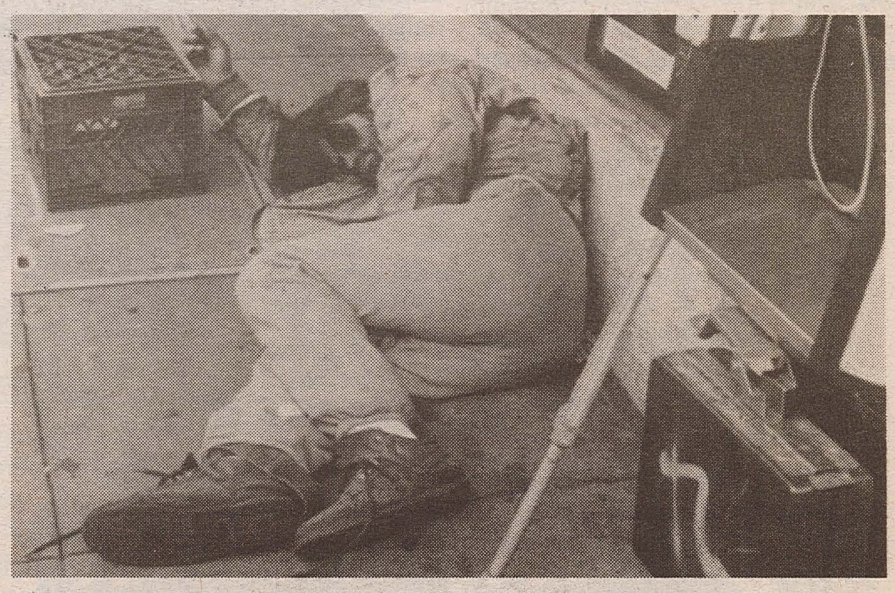


Photo by Ray Mann

Increasingly a common sight in U.S. urban centers—but where does it stop?

They are discriminatory laws, that is to say they are laws that dis criminate against the citizens of this nation, putting one citizen above another. It's unconstitutional in and of itself and violates civil rights.

A rich man who sleeps under a bridge can be arrested for breaking the law. So can a poor man who sleeps under a bridge.

But you and I both know that it is more likely that we or some other poor working person would be more likely found sleeping under that bridge than John D. Rockefeller.

In fact these are laws against a condition. This particular condition being a condition of poverty, condition of homelessness. Laws against begging for money, "panhandling," have no basis in the constitution of this country.

These statutes have made this country a land of laws. Anti-panhandling, anti-loitering, they have no constitutional basis. In fact they are unconstitutional because they are laws that discriminate based on economic status and they violate the civil rights of citizens of this nation.

They are being enforced against one group of Americans, against another group of Americans based upon their income.

CONTRIBUTE TO AN UPCOMING UNDERGROUND BOOK. SEND A SASE (STAMPED SELF ADDRESSED ENVELOPE) TO: SUBMISSION, 59 MARNE AVENUE SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94127

In the days of the serfs you were kicked off the land by the sheriff who was hired by the king.

They create poverty, they make you poor, and then they turn right around and make it unlawful for you to be poor. It's a catch 22.

Our war against poverty is also a war against the condition of poverty, and against the laws that are created against these conditions.

Now, in terms of the anti-loitering law, anti-panhandling law, a lot of well-meaning citizens are afraid that their young children will be approached by people who, because they don't have money or a home, they don't have a place to take a bath and shave, are frightening looking and would be impossible to pass. So we have to say to business people, and community people who are worried about the homeless problem, and the loitering problem, something *must* be done, but passing a law against poverty is not the answer.

Instead, let's get rid of poverty! Do this and we will eliminate homelessness and hunger.

Poverty is not new and it is rarely unavoidable and mostly imposed. When we see these laws coming down, like anti-loitering, anti-panhandling, three strikes you're out, war against drugs, it's like having a war against a running nose versus trying to do something about the cold or an allergy. It's a war against a symptom.

These are symptoms of poverty and nobody would argue that question. Ask any police officer where the highest crime area exists and that person, if he is not a fool, would point to a poor neighborhood.

The connection between crime and poverty is not by chance such a close connection. The connection between joblessness and the high crime rate is obvious.

It's an age-old practice. First you create a villain which leads to the use of weapons. But now, the fear and anger of the people have opened the door to radical remedies.

It can be called the diversionary tactic. It can be seen in the situation with Saddam Hussein in Iraq or Manuel Noriega in Panama, both created by the United States. In a fake attack, amidst hue and cry, our troops occupy parts of both northern and southern Iraq.

Somalia was made safe for Chevron oil drilling. Now Rwanda: remember it takes an expert in anthro-

Continued on next page

Haiti: Story Behind The Story

Continued from page 15

knew—it was going to a Swiss Bank account, it was *never* a problem: there was no delay. But all of a sudden when the popular government was using money to rebuild the country it was just trickling in.

Money from the United States government?

Not just money from the U.S. government, but many other institutions, many other governments. They were promised as a condition: once the election took place (free and fair) they will get all that aid. But the person everybody was banking on to win, was Marc Bazin, a former World Bank official, and there was a lot of intimidation of Father Aristide supporters. Only the ruling minority was going to vote—and the whole international community came in to witness the crowning of Marc Bazin as king of Haiti. This is

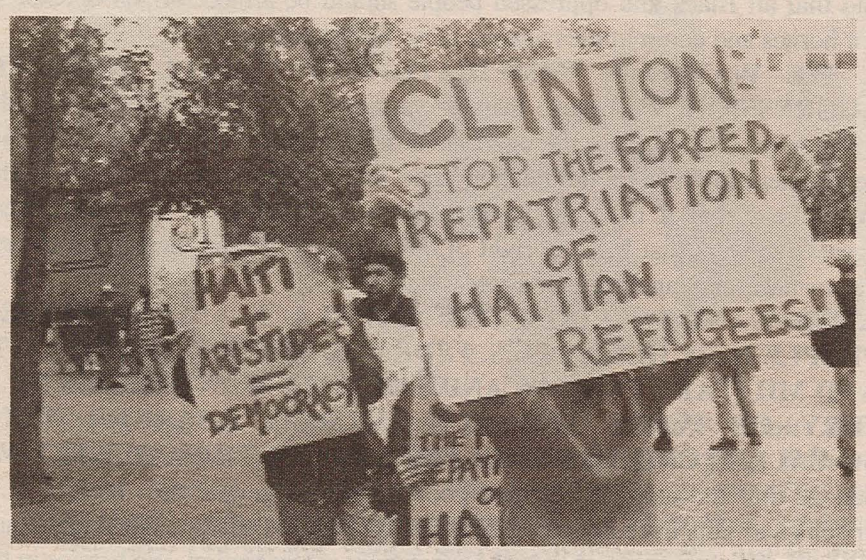


Photo by Robert Petterson

Concerned citizens in Oakland voice their support for President Aristide and humane treatment of Haitian Immigrants.

when our people saw all those cameras and they said: "Well, this is our chance, let's seize the time." So two days before the registration for Presidential candidates, the people asked Father Aristide to run. Father Aristide refused, he said no, that's not his thing. But the masses said, "Look brother, it is not what you want to do, it is what the movement needs you to do. You got to do it." So he ran for office, and immediately people came out of the woodwork to register to vote. Before we had about 280,000 to 300,000 registered to vote in the election, but when Father Aristide declared his candidacy the count went close to 3,000,000, and they had to postpone the election by a month.

So many people flocked to register. This was a mass popular thing, and caught the international governments by surprise, and this is why, when Father Aristide won, the aid that was to come in for Bazin, was delayed and delayed and delayed. But the people got right to work with their bare hands to reconstruct Haiti.

You are saying that the international community was trying to dictate the leader in place, and when the people did not vote for that the international community punished Haiti by keeping the money that was promised?

But then what happened, the Haitian people's movement, with Father Aristide as its leader, really made such a strong case internationally, and that's why international solidarity is very important. At that point a lot of the grassroots people throughout the world began pressuring their governments, and then things started falling in, so by the time the coup took place, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had agreed to give Haiti a loan of about 300 million dollars. No, maybe more than that, really, closer to 500 million dollars. And it was going to come in so that the number of public works and things like that were going to put our people to work, were going to be started. And then the coup took place, so none of that actually got going. But during that time, the seven months President Aristide spent in office, yeah, the economic conditions were bad, but they were improving. Even though the economic conditions were bad in Haiti, nobody left. Haitians [refugees] were going back. People were leaving the U.S., or leaving Cuba, leaving Jamaica, or wherever Haitians were.

People dispersed throughout the world were coming back to Haiti to rebuild the place and that is the story. By the '80s under the Reagan administration, then this thing became known as the Caribbean Basin Initiative. It was an initiative by which companies were encouraged to go to the Caribbean to set up shop where they got tax breaks, they wouldn't pay any taxes for a period of ten years and incidentally what happens after ten years is they are supposed to pay a certain percentage of the taxes but then they closed up shop and then they reopened under a different name and they start the process all over again. So it's a big joke, and this is undercutting also many of the local Haitian companies that would start. So many of them ended up being the subsidiary of an American firm, you see. That not only destroyed the working people of Haiti but it destroyed all local initiatives.

What do you know of international efforts among working people to do anything on an international scale or combine internationally in any way to affect conditions in Haiti? Is that possible? Is there a way to make contact with organizations and community efforts in Haiti?

Ever since we became an independent country in 1804 this has been the situation where Haiti was isolated because it was a bad example. Whenever you have some group that is identified as being a bad example. What is a bad example? It is whenever people stand up for their rights and are able to do so successfully: the slavery belt in 1791, the 13 year war, and the victory against Napoleon Bonaparte by slaves. You know, and to have found that kind of deep indignation, and so Haiti was isolated. People traded with Haiti where they kept it completely isolated so that there would be no contact. Our people never accepted that, that isolation. Our people had a lot of contacts with the outside world and we invited brothers and sisters who were enslaved throughout the world to come to Haiti and automatically they would be granted Haitian citizenship and Haiti would go to war to defend their freedom. Many brothers and sisters from America, Blacks from America, came to Haiti and got asylum. And it wasn't just African Americans, it was also Greeks, the movement for Greek independence. Simon Bolivar from South America came to Haiti and Haitians would give him money, weapons, and volunteers to fight for freedom. It was that kind of ongoing thing. And so today we have been asking that this isolation of Haiti be completely dropped.

We've been getting the message out to as many groups as we could, churches, labor unions, community organizations, student groups, to let them know what is going on there and to encourage people to go to Haiti as part of a delegation. And we can arrange that, we can arrange that contact be made in many things so that we can hear directly from the people of Haiti, so that we can deal directly with brothers and sisters from different parts of the world, about what their struggle is and maintain the lines of communication. So that we can, when the struggle is taking place in Haiti, against a particular plant let's say, then the same thing can happen here, see simultaneous action can take place.

For example, Bishop Willy Romulus, the only Haitian Bishop really worth his salt with the poor of Haiti. Bishop Romulus was beaten in 1993 right after saying mass. But there wasn't an outcry by the churches.

What is the position of the Pope toward Haiti and what's going on?

The Vatican is the only state to have recognized the military government. It is a very outrageous thing.

So the Vatican actually recognizes the military?

Exactly, because the Vatican is also the state, it has the status of a state. They have an ambassador in Haiti and they are recognized. They are the only ones, and it is very shameful—a very outrageous thing. And not many Catholics are aware of that. There are many Catholics, there are many people who have taken a very strong stand but that is again the isolation.

Bloody Laws are Back!

Continued from previous page

pology to distinguish a Hutu from a Tutsi.

To bring peace, the French (ex-colonizers of Rwanda) sent in those well-known Peace Keepers—the French Foreign Legion and French paratroopers who have joined government powers against the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Nicaragua: You set up an economic embargo, you bomb the harbors. You finance a contra-guerrilla army to destroy the Sandinistas. Once the economy is destroyed, you come in to save it.

You free the serfs, take away their homes and jobs, then arrest them for being vagabonds.

Finally you cut wages, you break unions, you freeze minimum wages. You allow cost of living to rise and deny workers cost-of-living raise. You hire temporaries, instead of permanent workers.

Once you create the monster of poverty, you legislate against the condition.

Homelessness, vagrancy, theft of food, clothes, money, health care (yes, you can lie to get *health care* you and your kids are not entitled to by law). You are forced to work cheaper for your cost of incarcerated prison labor, cost of borrowing money, student loans, welfare, unemployment, etc.

The goal is cheap labor, slave labor, the method has, is and always must be, oppression with the whip, by forcing workers to work for free.

How will you employ the whip, if people won't stand for slavery? You create poverty, fear, hysteria, and enter the chaos as savior, as the war against drugs, anti-loitering, anti-begging. Poor people move on to work camps. Just as the serfs, turned vagabond, are pushed into the cities to work in the factories.

Prisons

There has been no prison system, even in the former Soviet Union, before or after Stalin, that can rival the maze of jails that cover the U.S.

In California alone a plethora of prisons spreads from border to border.

While President Clinton speaks of refusing goods from China produced by prison labor, California Governor Wilson is inviting businesses to move onto prison grounds to enjoy benefits of "caged labor."

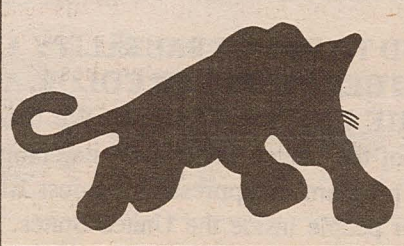
The prison system is growing, funds are available and the fear and hysteria this government has engendered through its policies (policies that have led to poverty, hunger and homlessness).

Hitler never broke the laws of Germany, he just changed them to suit his goals. The people in pain, in fear, in anger, persecuted homosexuals, communists, Gypsies, (the undesirables). The result is the same, the repression once let loose, rages out of control.

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party stands against "anti-loitering" (laws against having nowhere to go), "anti-panhandling" laws (laws against begging) and calls for a New War on Poverty.

Anti-poverty, *not* anti-poor people, ending poverty and its causes, the policies, and practices that perpetuate poverty; before we are tricked again into enslaving ourselves.

CALL TO ACTION



Now is the time to organize. Now is the time to unite.
Volunteers needed in building a strong grassroots movement to change the economic and social depression in our community.
You can help by calling your Commemorator:

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CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten Point Program which was written in 1966 by the Black Panther Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten Point Program outlined the goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working communities of the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is Reactionary Intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (that of the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party 10-Point Program

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

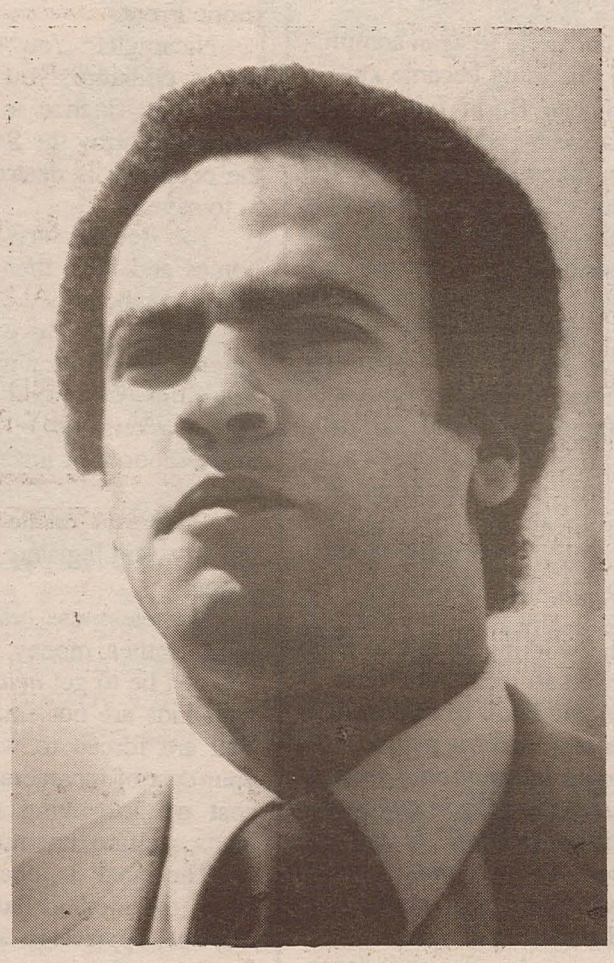
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about because of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it's our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts that exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, during human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands that have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Managed Health Care Slammed As Genocide

Continued from page 9

"President Clinton talks a lot about reformed financial access, but access alone is not going to guarantee that the quality of care is going to improve. Nor is it going to guarantee that care will be delivered in a culturally relevant way, that people will take advantage of."

She believes that cost and funding cuts will disproportionately impact minorities and the poor. She would prefer to see a single payer health care system, and feels drug companies are making a profit from human suffering.

"Drug prices are much too expensive. I mean drug companies are making not millions of dollars, but billions, and experimental drugs are taking a very long time to develop. So certainly a health plan ought to include access to prescription drugs."

Finally, she said, "the Administration's reform plan did not address mental or children's health, and put at risk the future of practitioners operating small community clinics, most often in the country's inner cities." The final decision of funding will lie with major health care providers. "The insurance companies have a lot of power now, they remain in the Clinton plans, and their power will probably increase," she predicted.

The most significant political aspect of the TennCare debate is that many minorities, the poor, and both liberals and conservatives are opposed to the concept of TennCare, and all seem to agree that the poor and low income working families will continue to be priced out of the healthcare market and left by their governments to either die from treatable illnesses or live in pain and suffering for the rest of their lives.

Book Review: James Forman's

High Tide of Black Resistance

Continued from page 6

racial and economic oppression known to the world.

One year later, during the "Free Huey" movement, Forman, along with Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and other SNCC leaders joined the **BPP** in an effort to build a professional revolutionary organization—an organization with the expressed goals of the BPP, and with experience and administrative skills which SNCC owned.

The Raise of the BPP

The **Black Panther Party** in 1967 sent armed members to California's capitol, in Sacramento, to protest against police murdering and brutality against Black people and people of all oppressed communities. The armed protest was within the law at the time. The California constitution then allowed citizens to carry unconcealed weapons on public property as long as they were ten feet from a law enforcement officer.

An important objective of the trip was the defeat of a bill which outlawed carrying unconcealed weapons, introduced by Assemblyman Mulford —the bill was dubbed by the media the "Panther bill." And to educate (raise the consciousness of) people of the country; it was constitutional for oppressed communities to organize and defend their rights against unlawful harassment and murder of Black people, which was unacceptable to the **Black Panther Party**.

1967 was also a time when the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union was the smokescreen which kept the CIA and the U.S. military industrial complex in business, operating throughout the world in their geopolitical sweepstake. The shameful U.S. intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965, overthrowing the elected revolutionary government of Patrice Lumumba, "was justified in that it was 'necessary to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa'" (132).

Chapter 12, "A Touch of History 1947", is the subtitle of the first part of the author's title essay *High Tide of Black Resistance 1967*. It presents considerable background information and analysis of the civil rights movement which led up to the militant Black Power movement of 1967, how African-American participation in World War II, and the quest for independence by colonialist people around the world which became sharply accentuated after WWII, had its effect in the United States.

Many young Blacks talked of the changes that must come in the United States. "Many who had fought during World War II began to say, 'Since we have fought to make the world safe for democracy, let's fight for democracy here.' Young Black students who were born during WWII did not fear the chilling effect of McCarthyism" (120).

This was a time, says the author, when "African Nations were asserting their independence... Images of Black men in flowing African robes, sitting in the United Nations, carrying on business of their governments, had a profound effect on Black babies born during WWII. These new African realities disproved the old Hollywood images of Black people as servants of Tarzan and rifle-carrier for the Europeans. A new generation of Blacks was emerging" (122).

Also, the Supreme Court decision in 1954 of *Brown v Board of Education* outlawed segregation in public schools. Many Southern whites adamantly opposed the decision and the White Citizen Council—Kluxes in suits and ties—emerged throughout the South to defend southern-Jim-Crow traditions (122-123).

In short, Forman's book links some of the political development on the African continent in the late 1950s through 1960s with the civil rights movement in the U.S led, largely, by African-Americans.

But there is much more information that this small paperback book provides. People who are interested in learning about history and gaining insight into the civil rights movement of the mid-1950s and 1960s, Forman's book, *High Tide of Black Resistance* is a vital source of information that you will not find in most classrooms.

(Note: subscripts identify page numbers in Foreman's book.)

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Nathan Cosby Killing Update

Official Investigation Whitewashes Police Actions

Continued from page 10

munity pressure toward a more thorough investigation by the ctizen's review board. Cosby's relatives plan to file a wrongful death action against the Oakland Police Department for their actions, They do not expect the police to voluntarily admit their responsibility for Cosby's murder.

"The bottom line is money," said Robert Cosby. "The police department can't admit that they did wrong, because it would put them up against the wall when it comes time for us to file our wrongful death lawsuit."

Nathan Cosby's brother Ray with Briana Cosby, and Shatonette Thornton.

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When Justice is Incidental

Continued from page 13

under the protection of the FBI and the Chicago police.

The apartment, while in possession of the Black Panther Party, was left open and people from the community were taken through the scene of this brutal assassination committed by the police under the direction of the FBI. Hundreds of people stood in line in the Chicago winter cold to see Fred Hampton's apartment. The police waited until Dec. 17th to seal off the apartment. For almost two weeks the apartment was left open.

Both the West Side and South Side of Chicago were in preparation for Fred Hampton's funeral. Over a thousand members of the Black Stone Rangers, now known as the P-Nation, attended the funeral. The Panthers had fielded sound trucks that played Fred's speeches throughout the streets of Chicago. Panthers from all across America attended the funeral.

During the services the minister giving the eulogy began trying to explain to the over thirteen hundred school children in attendance the importance of Fred Hampton and, in the middle of this explanation, he burst into tears. The next thing the minister knew, an eighth grader jumped to his feet and shouted "I am Fred Hampton!" Then a girl from the 6th grade jumped to her feet and yelled "I am Fred Hampton!" Then another and another, until all the children at the service were on their feet shouting "I am Fred Hampton!"

In the weeks that followed, public pressure led to a series of investigations. An FBI ballistic expert established that all but two of the more than 90 rounds discharged that night were fired by the police. All charges against the Black Panther Party members who survived the raid were dropped. No police were or have since, been indicted for the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The murder of Fred Hampton led to the downfall of Mayor Richard Daley and his political machine and the Chicago police emerged as vicious killers. Also, evidence emerged that proved the FBI had tried to persuade the Chicago Police Department to conduct the raid before State's Attorney Hanrahan finally agreed to do it.

To stem the tide of criticism, then-President Richard M. Nixon reaffirmed support for the FBI during graduation ceremonies at FBI headquarters. His words echoed the pretense of virtue that lies at the heart of the travesty that the FBI has made of the "American Dream" or "freedom and justice for all."

"I am honored to be here, to break into your graduation ceremony, to reassure you and all of the men in law enforcement throughout the country, of the support you have at the very highest levels of government for your work. And I am honored to speak for the entire nation in saying to you, congratulations, wishing you well in seeing that this nation is one in which we have respect for law. In which the American people can have freedom from fear."

The final word does not belong to Nixon, whose presidency ended in criminal bankruptcy, it belongs to Fred Hampton:"A lot of us read and read and read, but we don't get any practice. We have a lot of knowledge in our heads, but we've never practiced it; and made any mistakes and corrected those mistakes so that we will be able to do something properly. So we come up with, like we say, more degrees than a thermometer but we are not able to walk across the street and chew gum at the same time. Because we have all that knowledge but it's never been exercised, it's never been practiced. We are never testing it with objective reality.

You might have any kind of thought in your mind, but you've got to test it with what's out there. You see what I mean? YOU'VE GOT TO MAKE A COMMITMENT! If you think about me and you ain't gonna do no revolutionary act then forget about me. I don't want myself on your mind if you're not going to work for the people. Like I always said, if you're asked to make a commitment at the age of 20, and you say I don't want to make no commitment only because of the simple reason that 'I'm too young to die. I want to live a little bit longer.' What you did is....you're dead already. You have to understand that people have to pay a price for peace. You dare to struggle, you dare to win!"

"Like I always said, if you're asked to make a commitment at the age of 20, and you say I don't want to make no commitment only because of the simple reason that 'I'm too young to die. I want to live a little bit longer.' What you did is....you're dead already."

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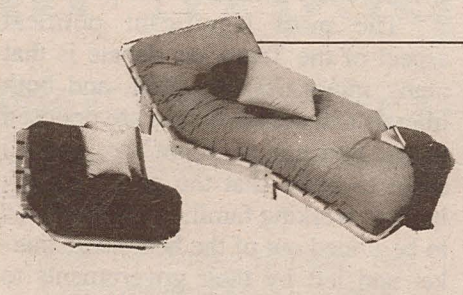

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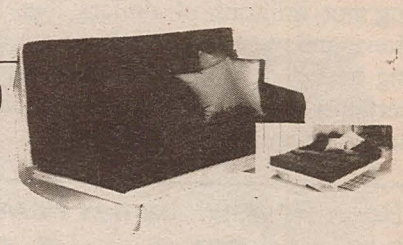

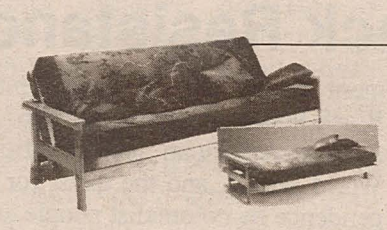

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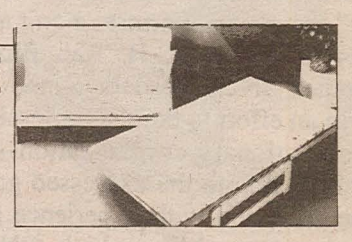

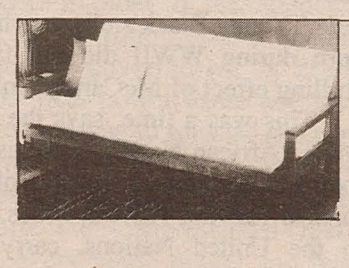

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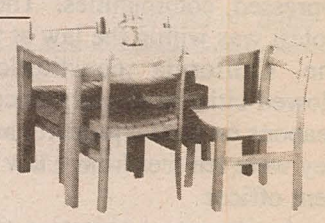

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